Christmas Number

The Christian S[illegible]cialist

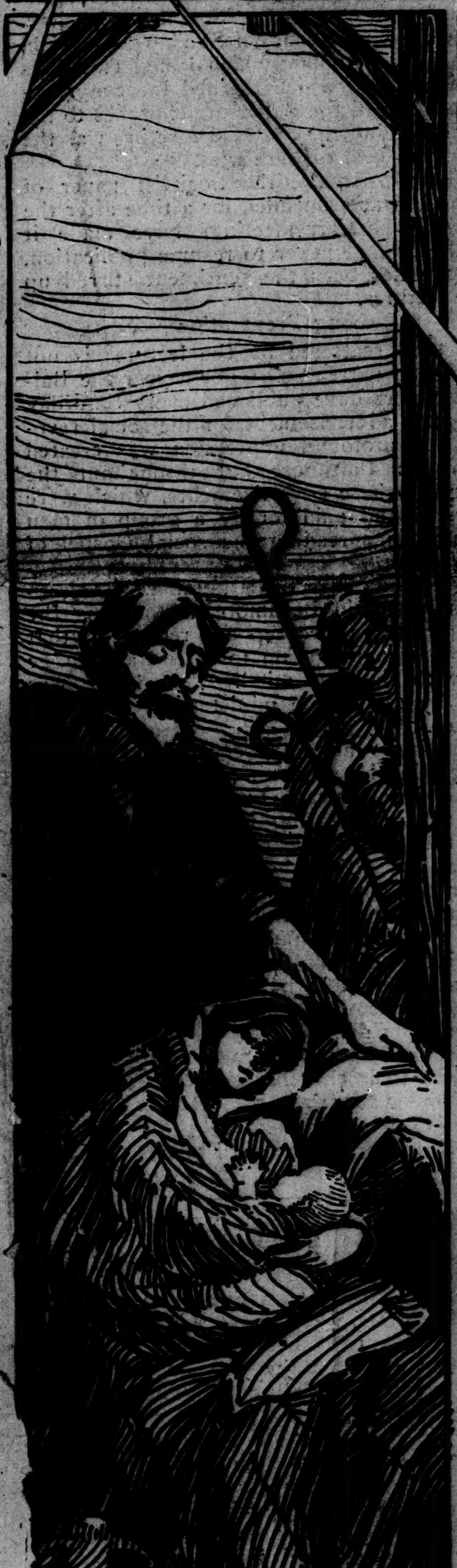
The Golden Rule Against the Ru[illegible] Gold

Entered as Second Class Matter January 31, 1907, at the Post Office in Chicago, Ill[illegible] of March 3, 1879

Eleventh Year. No. 3. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, DECEMBER, 1914. 5c Per Copy. 25c Per Year

N.Y. PUB LIBRARY
11 W 40TH
NEW YORK CITY N

Christmastide



Through wintry ways at Bethlehem
  The weary strangers go,
A bearded man, a shrinking girl
  With bleeding feet and slow.
But every door is locked amain,
  For full is every home;
The tribes crowd here, from far and near,
  To yield the tax of Rome.

Warm splendor decks the Roman hall
  Where drunken Caesars sleep;
But through cold streets, with wolfish eye,
  The plundered tribesmen creep.
Through every inn the reeking mobs
  In packed discomfort lie;
And Mary, in a freezing cave,
  Stills Jesus' new-born cry.

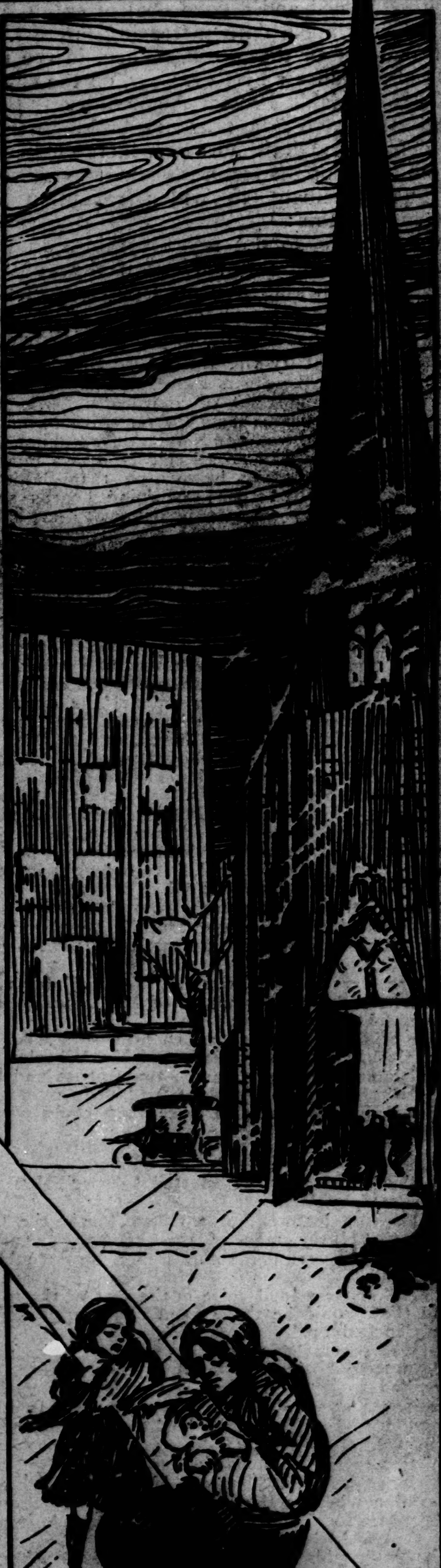
Now all the world, with pealing bells
  Hails that remembered night,
With chant and prayer and incense sweet,
  Music and hallowed rite;
While starving, freezing, terror-torn
  Beneath an iron sky,
In cellar, slum and huddled hall
  His stricken people lie.

For crafty Caesar vows to Christ
  The shrines his plunder built;
And while God's prophets share his spoils
  They glorify his guilt.
Outside their thousand steepled fanes
  The Holy Family cowers,
And icy death draws grimly close
  As clang the brazen hours.

In barren attics, winter-swept,
  The hungry Christ-child cries,
While Mary-Mother's hopeless tears
  Blind toil-inflamed eyes.
By club and lead and harlot law,
  By cruelty and shame,
The world still hounds the Christ to death
  That flaunts the Christian name.

Homeless He starves in every street,
  And Christian doors are barred
By them He branded hypocrites
  To Him they hail as Lord.
O mockery of Christmastide,
  O blasphemy of lies!
The Babe you praise with costly choir,
  Behind you starving dies!

—Irwin Tucker.



An Earthquake in Baltimore

(TELEGRAM)

Sunday, Nov. 22.

The Christian Socialist,
5457 Drexel Ave.

Great meeting at Palace Theater today, Dr. Carr's lecture was thrilling and impressive; large audience so interested and enthused that they cheered for several minutes repeatedly, preventing speaker from proceeding. He received a grand ovation. Success so gratifying that supporters decided to have Dr. Carr lecture at same place next Sunday night.

Edw. Hvale.

Staid old Baltimore is stirred by an earthquake. The center of this "temblor" is the auditorium of the Baltimore Business College; and the cause of it is a month of Christian Socialist revival meetings conducted therein by Rev. Edward Ellis Carr.

These meetings began on November 8, with a good crowd and a good deal of enthusiasm. They continued, with increasing interest, until Tuesday of that week. Then, in the middle of an address by Rev. Carr, on the subject of "Nehemiah's Protest Against Rent, Profit and Mortgages," a near-riot broke forth, in which several Baltimore preachers challenged from the floor the lecturer's statement.

The statement to which exception was taken was this:

"Preachers do not say the things in their pulpits that they would say if they did not have the rich and influential portions of their congregations to consider."

This let loose the flood. What followed is thus described by the Baltimore Sun:

Immediately there was a burst of applause from the audience and cries of approbation. A gray-haired man raised his hand for recognition, but Dr. Carr cried, "Not yet," and went on speaking. He paused, and this man arose, said he was a minister and declared that the insinuation that Baltimore preachers consulted their governing boards as to the sermons they were to preach was "laughable" and that Baltimore ministers always preached the truth.

There were murmurings of protest from the audience, even while the rapid fire argument between Dr. Carr and his critic was in progress.

Rev. Mr. Wheeler Speaks

In the meantime the Rev. Mr. Wheeler sprang to his feet and was granted permission to speak.

"The statement that Baltimore ministers preach what is not true is blackly untrue!" he exclaimed with heat. He declared that he was a clergyman of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and that he had never asked his official board what he should preach. Nor did Episcopal ministers of Baltimore, he said, go to their vestries for instructions.

By way of retort Dr. Carr declared that never in his life had he heard a sermon preached on the fifth chapter of Nehemiah which condemned interest taking, nor had he heard this truth taught in other than a Socialist Sunday-school.

"And if they don't preach from that chapter are they preaching the whole truth?" he thundered. "The Bible condemns interest taking. Do you preach it?"

There were instant cries of "No, no!" from the audience, and further remarks of Mr. Wheeler were drowned in the applause.

The minister who had arisen first—and who, apparently lacking the conviction of Mr. Wheeler, declined later to give his name—again arose and told Dr. Carr that it was not right for him to utter such things from the platform since they could not be answered from the floor.

Third Man Interrupts

A third man rose and started to speak, but was interrupted by Dr. Carr.

"This is a lecture, not a debate," said the Chicagoan. "If the men of this company went to church and interrupted the preacher, they would be put in jail."

"Yes," spoke a loud voice in the rear of the room, "and they would be thrown out and injured before being locked up."

It was several minutes before things were quiet and, preceding the resumption of his lecture, Dr. Carr had to listen to the third interrupter declare that it was proper for ministers to "preach first the Kingdom of God," which caused fresh argument.

Dr. Carr declared that it was the duty of the ministers to preach social justice, and declared that the clergy held the "balance of power which will determine whether the coming social revolution is to be educational and peaceful, or the bloodiest conflict the world has ever seen."

Concluding his lecture, Dr. Carr uttered a prayer in which he asked that if in his ignorance he had spoken words of untruth they "fall into the crevices of the rocks and perish," and pleaded with a voice that trembled for the ministers of Christ "who guard the walls of Zion."

Afterward several ministers present went upon the platform to shake his hand, the number including the gray-haired minister who first interrupted.

Rev. F. T. Tagg, editor of the Methodist Protestant, came out the next day with a statement denouncing Mr. Carr as a "wild and cantankerous fanatic, a notoriety seeker, an unjustifiable talker," and so forth. Other ministers rushed into print with disavowals and "expressions of regret."

Mr. Carr countered with the following statement published in the News:

"With the utmost astonishment I read the unjust assault made upon me by certain ministers, who condemned me for a speech which they did not hear and for a statement which I did not make. The tirade of Dr. Tagg, especially, was, in the circumstances, wholly unworthy of a Christian, a gentleman or a scholar, all of which I hope he is, and I think he will realize how unfair, unkind and insulting his remarks were and apologize in a manner as public as was his violation of courtesy and common sense. He well knows that reporters are not all infallible, and he should not have rushed into print with charges of 'wild and cantankerous fanatic,' 'low caliber,' 'notoriety-seeking' and declarations of 'regret' that he had asked for me a fair hearing when he failed to give me a fair hearing himself.

It Is Up to Nehemiah

"I did not say that all, many, or any of the preachers of Baltimore consult their vestries or official boards before composing their sermons. What I did say was that Nehemiah did not; that any preacher who neglects to preach the truth because he fears the disapproval of his official board or members of financial influence is not worthy to stand in the pulpit; that the one business of a preacher is to tell the truth without regard to consequences; and I merely raised the question as to how many ministers in Baltimore are free from more or less muzzling. And I would really like to know.

Had "Cold Feet"

"In Akron, Ohio, recently, for example, the rubber workers went on strike against intolerable conditions, and I am told by residents of Akron that some of the ministers preached against them, the rest kept silent, except one, who spoke in their behalf at first and then 'felt the cool wind blowing on his feet' and left the strikers to their fate. Will those preachers have the respect of the workers there; can they lead these men to Christ? **A garment-workers' strike is on in Baltimore now. The garment-workers of this nation are notoriously 'sweated.' How many ministers of Baltimore have taken the trouble to hear the side of the strikers and to speak for them? Why not?**

"I was particularly surprised that the ministers who signed a letter asking for me a hearing, and who were very careful to say in that letter that they were not to be held responsible for my views, should rush to cover again so precipitately on account of a hearsay report of a 'preposterous' statement which I did not make. Of whom were they afraid?

Nehemiah In It Again.

"My surprise is all the greater when I consider that the Nehemiah episode is the same upon which I spoke to about 300 ministers in Baltimore last fall, among whom were these ministers, and I said the same things at the ministers' meeting, and more of the same kind, than I did Tuesday night. These gentlemen knew my views upon rent, interest and profit before they signed the letter which they now 'regret,' and which, by the way, I did not request any of them to sign. Economic science and the Bible are my fortress.

"But I do say, and said before the ministers here last fall, that most of them do not preach the economics of the Bible nor the message to the poor and the rich that Jesus preached. And I will be glad to debate with a man chosen by the ministers at our meetings, or anywhere else, either or both of these questions:

"First, the Bible, both Old and New Testaments, condemns rent, interest and profit, as the Socialists do.

"Second, the preachers generally do not preach, nor the churches generally stand for, the economic teachings of Moses or Jesus, as the Socialists do.

Worldwide Conditions

"The social misery arising from rent, interest and profit was not and is not a 'local condition' isolated in time or place. It is a world-wide condition today and must be met by men who dare arouse the people by speaking the truth concerning it. One who desires the greatest and truest recent utterance on the subject should read Prof. Albion W. Small's masterful work, "Between Eras."

"And the intimation that a preacher is such a privileged character that it is proper for him to interrupt a meeting and break up a lecture whenever he does not agree with the speaker is quite original. **If the preachers claim that privilege at a Socialist meeting, they need not be surprised if the Socialists claim the same privilege in the churches.**

"For myself, I care nothing for such attacks, but my life is consecrated to preaching Socialism and Christianity, especially from the Bible, and, for the sake of truth and the cause of humanity, I hope that all sincere lovers of social justice will hear these lectures for themselves, and hear enough of them fairly to understand what I do say and what I really mean."

After this meeting the Baltimore papers took up the cudgels, and printed column after column of comment and reply, and criticism and retort by the ministers of Baltimore, the members of vestries, boards of trustees, and interested laymen. As a consequence attendance at the lectures grew by leaps and bounds, and the enthusiasm of the gathering became ever more intense.

A feature of the meetings commented on by the press is the singing. Hundreds of "Moyer's Songs of Socialism" are distributed and sold, and the audience joins in the singing with a strong good will. The effect is electric. "Atheists and agnostics are turning to God, and preachers are coming out openly for Socialism," says one report from the firing-line.

It is significant that on Sunday Nov. 15th, in a heavy downpour which lasted two days and nights, and which thinned the congregations at most of the Baltimore churches to the vanishing point, the Socialist meeting was the biggest and best of the series.

Public Ownership, the Socialist paper of Baltimore, was suspended for a time after the election. The Carr meetings have made it possible for that paper to resume publication, so strong has been the sentiment stirred up by the lectures.

Long Preparation

The seed scattered by the lectures is not falling upon barren soil. For a year the Baltimore papers have published every Saturday a half-page advertisement for the social revolution. A profound impression was created not only in Baltimore but throughout the country by these advertisements, which were authorized and paid for by a group of men interested in spreading the social Gospel of the Kingdom. Immediately preceding the beginning of the mission a letter was sent to every minister in Baltimore, announcing the opening of these meetings and requesting that he ask his congregation to attend and judge them with an open mind. This letter was signed by ten of the ministers of Baltimore churches.

Immediately after the controversy regarding dictation by governing boards, a number of these signators came out in the papers with statements deprecating Mr. Carr's lecture—which they had not heard, and regretting that they had asked the other ministers of the city to hear him with an open mind. In his reply Mr. Carr challenged any or all of the ministers of the city to a public debate upon these propositions:

"First: The Bible, both Old and New Testaments, condemns rent, interest and profit, as the Socialists do.

"Second: The preachers generally do not preach, or their churches generally stand for, the economic teachings of Moses or Jesus, as the Socialists do."

No reply has been received to this challenge up to date.

CHICAGO TO HAVE A CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST REVIVAL

At the regular monthly meeting of the Chicago Fellowship Center, Sunday, Nov. 22nd, the Fellowship voted to have the General Secretary, Edward Ellis Carr, conduct a Christian Socialist Revival in this city, similar to the one in progress at Baltimore. The plan is to have it held in January at some central location.

While only part of the membership was present a goodly amount was pledged to finance the same and all members of the Fellowship, and friends who approve of this kind o propaganda work, are urged to send in their pledges as soon as possible so that plans may be carried out to make these meetings a great benefit to the cause of Socialism in this city. The Center requests that all pledges be made payable January 10, 1915. Please report t the Secretary, Mrs. Ella Carr, 5457 Drexel Ave.

CAESAR KAISER CZAR

By Irwin Tucker.

"Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk. And they sent unto him their disciples with the Herodians, saying, 'Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, neither carest thou for any man. For thou regardest not the person of men. Tell us therefore, what thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar, or not?'"

But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said: "Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? Shew me the tribute money." And they brought unto him a penny. And he said unto them "WHOSE IS THIS IMAGE AND SUPERSCRIPTION?" They say unto him "CAESAR'S." Then saith he unto them, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things which are God's."

When they had heard these words they marvelled, and left him, and went their way.—Matthew 22:15.

So God created man in HIS OWN IMAGE; in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.—Genesis 1:27.

Thou, O Lord, art in the midst of us, and we are CALLED BY THY NAME; leave us not, O Lord Our God.—Jeremiah 14:9.

From time immemorial the reply of Jesus to the question concerning the tribute-money has been taken as teaching that Caesar—the Lord of this world—must be obeyed in all temporal affairs. This interpretation, maintained by the extreme interest of Caesar in keeping Christians loyal slaves, is a total subversion of what Jesus meant, and what the Pharisees to whom the answer was given understood him to mean. No Jew familiar with his Bible could miss the meaning; which hinges on the fact that Jesus, being a Jew, knew his Old Testament almost by heart.

"Whose is THIS image and superscription?" he said, pointing to the bit of metal they offered him. They answered "Caesar's." He tossed it back to them, saying "Give back therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's—AND UNTO GOD THE THINGS WHICH ARE GOD'S."

He knew—and they knew—that in the very first chapter of the Bible it is written "man is made in the image of God." He knew, and they knew, that prophets never ceased reminding the people of Israel that they were named after God; that his superscription was upon his people.

"Give back to Caesar these things which are Caesars!" This bit of metal is unimportant. But it is a crime to "give unto Caesar" the things which bear God's image and superscription—that is to say, human beings.

To render any MAN subservient to Caesar is to render to Caesar things which are God's. This is apostasy.

They understood his meaning well. At his trial before Pilate they cried "We found this man forbidding to give levies unto Caesar!" Luke 23:2.

The words used are different. In the question (Matt. 22:15) it was "kensos" "census"—a tax of money. In the accusation before Pilate, it was "phoros"—tribute of persons for the army and military service—which he was accused of forbidding. The difference is most striking. The accusation was true and Jesus had forbidden the rendering of human lives unto Caesar. Caesar had jurisdiction only over the things which he had made. He had made this bit of metal—or at least, had caused it to be made. He had rights over it. Even Caesar was entitled to the product of, in a manner of speaking, his own toil. Christ conceded his right to it. But over man he had no such power, because it bore, not his image and superscription, but that of God.

It would have been strange indeed if Jesus had shown here that reverence for authority which is deduced from his words. He never showed it anywhere else. He referred to his own king, Herod, as a "jackal"—the Greek word is "alopex." The jackal was a scavenger of offal, and to apply this term to any Hebrew was the ultimate depth of contempt. Samson (Judges 15:30) turned jackals with firebrands to their tails into the Philistine corn; which was such an unbearable insult that the Philistines came up and burnt Samson's wife and father alive. When Nehemiah records that Sanballat and Tobiah jeered that a "jackal would break down their wall if he went up on it," Nehemiah breaks out into a passionate prayer for vengeance for the insult. (Nehemiah 4:3.) This was the word Jesus applied to his king.

At the Last Supper, at his dying feast, he ridiculed the pretensions of kings. He told his disciples in his farewell address.

"The kings of the Gentiles lord it over them and they which exercise constraint over them are called 'Benefactors.' But it shall not be so among you." Luke 22:25.

The word benefactor is in Greek "Euergetes"—"well-doer." It was a title claimed by several of the most worthless and cruel of the Eastern despots of that time. Antiochus VII of Syria, Ptolemy III of Egypt, and at a later period Ptolemy VII, called themselves "Euergetes"—Benefactors. This last king was a cruel tyrant, whose nickname among his beloved subjects was "Physcon"—Big-belly. Much the same as the more recent expression "Bwana Tumbo."

"Called benefactors." Would not the same scorn heaped upon these bloody tyrants be levied against John D. Rockefeller, Jr., knitting socks for the Belgian children while out in Ludlow the children of the miners go barefoot in the snow? Carnegie builds libraries and peace palaces with his name over every door as "benefactor"; and the money whence it comes is drawn from the implements of murder. Would he not be included?

Jesus had no reverence for kings of any kind, especially none for Caesar. It would be strange if he had.

From the point of view of the international proletariat, Rome was a hideously diseased octopus consisting of clutching fingers, eternally endeavoring to fill a bottomless belly. Nothing satisfied her but the fairest, the youngest, the strongest; nor was there ever such a thing as satisfaction. Slavery! No figures can encipher its extent in the days of the glory of Rome. On such a single day in a single market as many as a hundred thousand slaves were sold, and twenty thousand was no uncommon sale. The western and southern borders of the Mediterranean and far inland were depopulated, and have remained so ever since.

The punishment of slave revolt was crucifixion. There were many slave revolts, notably in the Island of Sicily. More than [illegible] of these were for a time successful. Eventually they were overthrown and the roads were lined with crosses on which hung tens of thousands of bodies of beings whose crime was similar to that of George Washington or Abraham Lincoln.

From 211 A. D. to 284 A. D. twenty-three emperors sat in the seat of Augustus, and of these all but three were murdered by their soldiery. Of the remaining three, one fell in battle—Decius; one died in prison—Valerian, and one died of pestilence—Claudius.

Not only emperors, but long before them, dictators had met the same fate. Flaccus, Sertorius, Cinna and scores of other leaders were murdered by their own officers. And why not? Cinna and Octavius fell upon citizens who had collected to vote, and heaped the streets with the bodies of the slain. Sulla, armed with absolute authority, backed by overwhelming military strength, after his victories, organized proscriptions which meant the death of all the families of all his enemies. He murdered 40,000 people after the defeat of the Marians. In the absence of Sulla, Marius and Cinna seized Rome and Marius gratified his thirst for revenge by a frightful slaughter of his political opponents. Octavius, capturing bands of runaway slaves, crucified 6,000 of them and sent 30,000 back to their masters. Under the Second Triumvirate the horrors of the proscriptions exceeded those of Marius and Sulla, and while the forum swam with blood, and the streets were encumbered with corpses, the dead Julius Caesar was proclaimed a god!

Such was the rule of Caesar! Could Christ have urged respect for this?

Not Caesars as individuals, but Caesarism as a power, was the object of Christ's denunciation. There are today two lineal descendants of the name of Caesar. That title spelled in the German way, is the title of Wilhelm II. Spelled in the Russian way, it is the title of Nicholas II. Caesar—Kaiser—Czar—they are the same word; and beneath the word lies the same abhorrent thing.

Caesar made himself a god. The Kaiser makes himself, if not God, then the senior partner of God. He speaks of the "brilliant support accorded me by God in my operations;" he refers to "our good old God up there;" he tells his soldiers that if he commands them to kill even their own mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers or children, then it is their duty to obey, for he is their lord. And because he is their lord, Europe is drenched in the blood of a million human sacrifices—rendered unto Caesar!

Czardom is no whit behind Kaiserthum. The Russian knout, the prisons of Siberia, the pogroms, the women and girls slaughtered and ripped asunder by the Cossacks—these are of a piece with the butcheries of Julius Caesar and of the long line of assassins in purple named after him.

But the church of Christ today has been busy rendering God's things unto Caesar. Wherever there is a bloody tyrant, massacring to hold his place and power, there is a Church supporting him. To the Czar, the Russian state church offers the adulation of a demigod; to the Kaiser the state church of Germany bows as before deity. To bloody Diaz and assassin Huerta the Roman Church in Mexico grovelled in obedience, being fed by the spoils; and to this day protests to the world that its main duty in Mexico was to preach "obedience to constituted authority" even though that authority was constituted by bullet, blood and fire, and cemented by human misery and murder as an industry.

Does Caesar Rule Here?

In the opinions of American Christianity presented in this issue, one finds the bishops of America protesting almost as a unit against Caesarism abroad. The end of the war must be democracy, they cry. It is easy to proclaim this when Caesar lives across the water. But how many of the Bishops quoted here, and the clergy whom they represent, render [illegible]

Caesar the things that are God's—when Caesar lives among us?

HOW MANY OF THESE BISHOPS WHO PROTEST AGAINST THE HORRORS OF THE WAR IN EUROPE, HAVE FOUGHT THE HORRORS OF THE CLASS WAR IN AMERICA?

In West Virginia, in Michigan, in Colorado, and now in Arkansas, war has broken out after long smouldering. It is in every case war against Caesar. In the case of Michigan copper mines, Caesar is represented by the absentee owners living in Boston, reaping millions yearly of wealth stolen from the toil of miners a thousand miles away. Has the Christian Church in Massachusetts or in Michigan protested against Caesar? Or has it rendered the things of God—human beings bearing His image and superscription—as sacrifices on the abhorrent altar of the Dollar God?

In the case of Colorado, Caesar is John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who holds power of life, liberty and safety over the miners in the Colorado fields. How got he this power? What moral difference is there between the coronet which conveys from father to son the feudal kingship, and the parchment which conveys from father to son the power of a capitalist lord?

Does the American Church protest against this Power of Caesar? The flesh and blood on which is stamped the image and superscription of God is rendered as a tribute to the coin on which is stamped the power of money. By this power of Caesarism men, women and children are sacrificed by starvation, by unemployment, by misery and destitution, by industrial disease, by industrial accident, by all the manifold ways in which Caesar claims his tribute from the world.

DOES THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH FIGHT AGAINST THIS TRIBUTE UNTO CAESAR?

No! It upholds it. It counsels submission to "constituted authority" which is Caesar; it rebukes the starving and the unfortunate for daring to question the supremacy of Caesar; it sounds the organ and sends aloft the incense before the god of this world, offering to him the blood and groans, and lives and souls of the martyrs of God, as tribute—unto Caesar.

When Caesar's power has done its work centuries gone by, or when his sacrifice is being made across the world from us, we can see the evil. But when the throne of Caesar is reared in our very midst; when perhaps we pick up the crumbs under Caesar's table—then the distinction between Caesar and God becomes very confused in our minds. There are many "men of God" who are not at all certain that a very wealthy magnate who wraps himself in the Stars and Stripes and proclaims himself the chosen of God to keep the people subdued may not be Messiah.

Such men are faithless betrayers of their solemn trust. It is they to whom the charge is committed to see that the things which are God's are rendered unto God. Upon the flesh and blood of every child of man is stamped the image and superscription of God. To make any man subject to the power of Mammon or of Moloch is a crime of apostasy, and if done in the name of the God of Jesus, is blasphemy as well.

Christmas festivities are this year going to approach perilously near being a horrible blasphemy. The Holy Family wanders through our streets, seeking room in the inns, and finding none. Thrown out of churches with clubs and oaths; reviled from the pulpit as "disturbers of public worship" the unemployed last year slunk to their holes and corners. Christ, in the persons of his poor and needy, was scourged out of his temples. And again those same temples will resound with the pretense of joy at the birth of the child Jesus; while the child Jesus himself cowers in cold attics by the ashes of starvation in the persons of the children of the poor.

RENDER UNTO CAESAR THE THINGS WHICH ARE CAESAR'S! Toss to the capitalist lord the parchments, the legal tomes, the bonds and stocks, and all other waste paper which constitute his claim for homage. THEY ARE ALL HE OWNS! No land belongs to him—it belongs to the people. No wealth belongs to him—it belongs to the workers. All that the Capitalist has is waste paper—and a superstition.

Christmas is the day for destroying superstitions. It is the beginning of true worship—the worship of God manifested in human flesh. Let us burn in bonfires a world wide this hideous mockery of Caesar-worship. Let the sons of God, the fellows of the Creative power—THE WORKERS—take possession of their world; dethroning Caesar and all the blind beasts that follow in his train; to put an end to the power of the prince of this world, and to bring in the glory of the Kingdom of God, which is the Brotherhood of Man.

Ludlow Children Barefoot While Rockefeller Knits For Belgians

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has taken to knitting socks for the feet of Belgian refugees. **Meanwhile, out in Colorado the children of striking miners are going barefoot in the snow, because he refuses to arbitrate.**

The Rockefeller Foundation is devoting its vast fortune to the relieving of Belgian distress.

The report of the Colorado coal mine inspector for 1913, just off the press, states that in that year "there were 110 men killed. Fifty-one women were left widows and 108 children left fatherless."

The loss of life in Colorado mines was **three times the average** of the whole United States.

In a special report upon the explosion at the Vulcan mine, December 16, 1913, the inspector says that the thirty-seven men were killed because of violations by the company of the mining laws.

Death List Grows

His comparative table on the number of men killed in Colorado's coal mines shows in 1912 there were 7.005 men killed per 1,000 men employed in the state's mines, while in 1913 there were 8.60 men killed per 1,000.

The average in the United States as a whole for 1912 was 3.15 men per 1,000. The number of men killed per 1,000,000 tons mined in Colorado was 8.90 in 1912 and 11.86 in 1913. The percentage for the whole United States in 1912 was 4.29 per 1,000,000 tons.

There were 354 men injured in Colorado mine accidents during 1913, an average of 27.5 per 1,000 men employed.

The total number of men employed in and about the mines was 12,871. The average yearly earnings of the coal miners of the state were $669.67 each. The total amount of compensation for death and injury was $33,593.63—an average of $72 apiece.

In the same mail comes the report of President J. F. Welborn of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, closing with these words—in capitals:

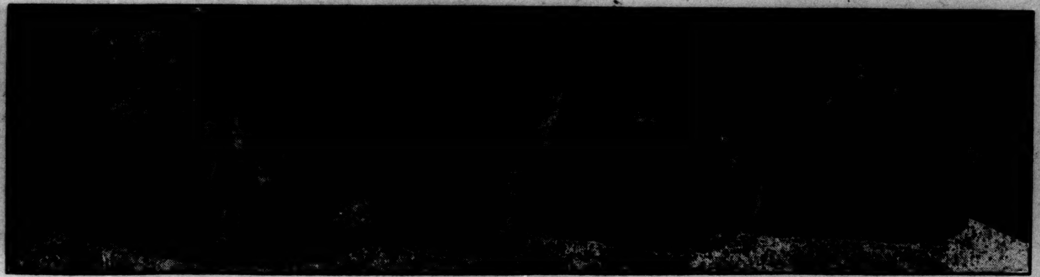
"Recognizing our responsibility to the stockholders, to our employes and to the public for the proper conduct of the affairs of the company, we believe it to be our duty to take a stand with our workmen against the invasion of that labor organization."

"The stockholders," to whom Welborn is primarily responsible, refers to the Rockefellers. "The public" comes last.

The "labor organization" referred to is the United Mine Workers of America. Since the company's first responsibility is to its stockholders, increase of dividends is the first duty. In discharging its "duty to its employes," the company seeks to prevent the enforcement of the laws of the State—which is the principal demand of the strikers. It seeks to maintain the death average at three times as high as the average of the rest of the United States; to maintain the pay average at the impossibly low figure of $669.67 a year apiece. This average is struck only after figuring in the high salaries of a few well paid mine officials.

In its Philadelphia session the American Federation of Labor demanded that President Wilson take over the coal mines and operate them for the benefit of the nation. If President Wilson refuses, he has confessed openly that Rockefeller money is more powerful than the government of the United States.

Shoes of the Children At Ludlow.



NOTES.

The Independent, of Elizabeth City, N. C., devotes two columns of its issue of Nov. 12 to expressing surprise that the Rev. C. A. Ashby, rector of Christ Episcopal Church of that city is a Socialist. The clergy of the Episcopal Church are turning toward Socialism in great numbers. The Spalding Memorial is having, it appears, a great deal of effect.

A Socialist Ministerial Conference, comprising 30 ministers and theological students, has just been organized in Boston, according to Rev. Howard Key Bartow, rector of St. Stephen's Church, Cohasset, Mass.

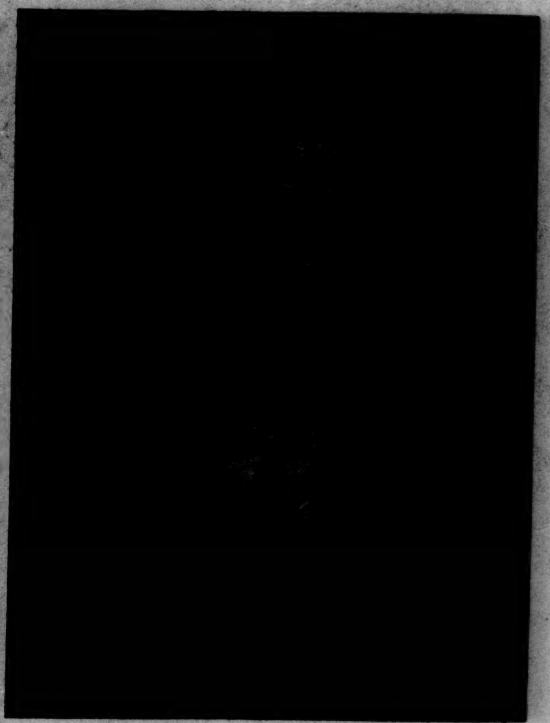
I have been reading your paper, the books by Rauschenbusch, and other Socialist propaganda literature for five years or more, but I have never been so moved to understand and preach industrial democracy as I am at this writing, having just finished reading every page of the Bishop Spalding Memorial.

Sincerely yours,
STANLEY ROSS FISHER,
Los Angeles, Cal.
Minister The Church of the Messiah (Congregational).

Will the Church Disappear?

By Rev. Walter T. Rauschenbusch

Author of "Christianity and the Social Crisis," "Christianizing the Social Order," etc.



In 1913 the churches of the United States had 37,280,370 members. Have you ever tried to heft the weight of these figures? All other voluntary organizations look puny compared with that.

The churches lament that they haven't got more. We ought to wonder that they have so many. To win, to hold, to organize such vast numbers is an enormous social achievement and proof positive of social efficiency.

It is more astonishing because the church is an idealistic organization and makes its appeals chiefly to the highest instincts in us. But the higher your appeal, the fewer will respond. Any evolutionist will tell you that.

If there were not such organizations as the churches, the finest minds would dream of creating something like them. Would our people maintain and equip about 225,000 church organizations unless those who pay the money and do the volunteer work felt that they were getting something out of them?

Unless our experience has been especially unfortunate, we all know that the church does steady and re-enforce our straggling moral nature. It quietly irrigates the soil of our life with spiritual aspirations.

The church can fight, though, when roused. It has fought to a standstill one of the biggest financial interests and one of the most seductive social institutions in the country. And it has done it almost single-handed.

If ever the church lines up against war and industrial exploitation as it has lined up against the liquor traffic, we shall date a new era. The church is slow. It surely is. But remember in fairness that the church is not a picked club of a few radicals, but a cross-section of the whole nation. It is slow because it includes the conservative masses. The man in a hurry does not realize how slowly the mass of humanity moves and changes.

It took a century to create the present interest in foreign missions in the churches. It has taken about ninety years to educate the churches up to the present convictions on the liquor question, and even now some denominations are lukewarm. Only in recent years have we learned how to meet the liquor trade in politics.

It has taken all the time since the Civil War to make the leaders of the church realise that our capitalistic business system will eat up the nation if it is allowed to obey its own greed. The churches have always been for peace in theory. Perhaps this great war will consolidate their sentiment to the point of action.

You think this is slow progress. It is! Can you show any equal body of people that has moved faster? Elevating the morality of a nation is like raising a sky-scraper with jack-screws.

Have you ever tried to propagate trade unionism? Or the single tax? or Socialism? How many thousands of your neighbors would you say you have converted?

After years of education and agitation the Federation of Labor has now only about 2,000,000 members and the Socialist party has only about 150,000 dues-paying members. The working class has every motive to be interested in these organizations, yet the progress of conviction is slow.

If it were a matter of free beer now, or a new sex dance, the people would run after you. But if you urge a purer truth or a higher justice on men, you have your job cut out for you. Be patient with those who are trying to educate the church.

Some think the church will melt away and disappear. All history is against the assumption. All history is in favor of the proposition that the church ca[illegible] be made much better or much worse than it [illegible] now. The question is not between having [illegible] church or having none, but between having a wise church or a blind one; between having a progressive church or a stand-pat church.

THE CHURCH NEEDS FOUR THINGS ESPECIALLY TO-DAY:

1. Friendship for those who earn their living and independence from those who do not.
2. Co-operation among the denominations on a basis of Christian equality and mutual respect.
3. A sincere and scientific comprehension of the social causes for sin and misery.
4. An undying determination to get the will of God realized in the organized life of every community and see the life of Christ reappear in every man and woman.

Don't go out of the church unless they put you out. Jesus did not. If you have it in you to help the church forward, be patient and push. It moves slowly. But it stays put. And when the church moves, the nation moves.

SOCIALIST SPEAKER FINDS CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST NECESSARY

By W. E. Clark.

My work during the last three years has made me reluctantly see the absolute need of your work. The fact that I am not a Christian should give my conclusion greater weight.

It has taken me a long time to admit that your propaganda is a very vital part of the Socialist movement. I have been forced to recognize that fact that so long as the churches stand guard over every little village, as well as the larger cities, while the Socialist movement is scarcely organized, even in cities the size of Alton, your work is needed because you carry the message to places we cannot reach, and places that must be reached if we hope for victory.

In the city of Alton, for instance, where I have just been on business, there are fourteen Roman Catholic societies listed in the city directory. Everyone of these societies is an organized enemy of Socialism, and will be until their people are taught that Socialism is not what their church politicians say it is. Then add to that the fact that practically all other churches are dominated by the enemies of Socialism; and the further fact that the city directory contains no mention of the Socialist organization, and one is forced to admit that Socialism is practically unrepresented in Alton.

The same is true in nearly every city I have made in the twelve central states during the last three years. I have written local secretaries offering my services without charge, and received no reply in several cases. In other places, I have spoken to enthusiastic audiences of a very few splendid Comrades, who are gladly carrying on the struggle. So I have no word of condemnation for the party, or for the self-sacrificing Comrades who often do more than their over-burdened bodies should stand.

The point I am making is that you are carrying the message to places and to people that the party does not often reach. The fact that you carry it in Christian phrases has caused me, like other non-Christians, to undervalue the work you are doing. Now that I do recognize it, I want to say a word of encouragement as a sort of apology for having misunderstood you in the past.

There is an almost universal conviction on the part of wage-workers that the church is an upholder of capitalism and indifferent to the physical well-being of the working class. Your organization can reach the church people and show them that the ethics of Socialism and the ethics of Christianity, as the encyclopaedia says, are identical. They will listen to you because you talk in the language of the church; and if you can convince a few church people and a few preachers that Socialism will make it possible for men to lead Christian lives, they will join in the work of the party, just as they go with other political parties, thinking them to be right.

And whoever persuades men to investigate Socialism, no matter how he does it, is doing a much needed work, a work which every Socialist should be willing to commend. I have criticised you in the past. Why? Simply because you did not use my words. (I am making it a personal matter so as not to condemn others who do not yet admit the necessity of your work.) And as I think progress comes through people admitting their mistakes and correcting them, I send you this letter as a friendly word from one kind of a worker to another kind in the same general cause.

THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM

O radiant Star, that gleams afar!
  By faith we see today
Thy light divine in glory shine
  To guide us on our way.

O radiant light, our darkest night
  Enshrines thy beauty rare!
Through all the years of toil and tears,
  We see a vision fair.

O Star of love that shines above!
  Through all the ages burn,
To teach us peace, till war shall cease—
  And men thy lesson learn.

O radiant Star, that gleams afar,
  Thy promise fair fulfil!
As nations cry: "The Lord is nigh"!
  All hearts with rapture thrill.

Martha A. Kidder,
Asbury Park, N. J.

"We are face to face with seething unrest. The masses are struggling for better economic and social conditions, and their needs are urgent. If the Christian Church has no message for these men: if it cannot supply motive power for their economic deliverance as well as create in their hearts faith in the Eternal Good—it may as well close its doors."

"At present the Christian ideal of loving our neighbor as ourselves is mainly served out of business hours." —Rev. T. R. Will[illegible]

FULL STOCKINGS—A Christmas Story

By George Rankin Allen

(PRIZE WINNER IN STORY CONTEST)

"A fine Christmas it is for some folks, I don't think," bristled Mrs. Flaherty. "Sure me heart ached whin I heard the little feller. An' it was only by chance that I heard it at all, for that's somethin' I niver do, listen to what's goin' on in me neighbor's. Did anybody iver know me to do such a thing?"

Only a formal protest was raised by the little German grocer, Christie Klingneckel, and his big wife; but it was all that was called for, as Mrs. Flaherty relieved the situation from any suspicion of personality by sweeping her keen, blue eyes grandly around the unpretentious store, as if to convey the idea that she was merely using a figure of speech.

So she went on:

"'An' who told you anything about Santa Claus?' his mother asked him. You know the way she spakes, anyhow, so gintle it makes you think ivery minute she's goin' to cry. But this time it reminded me for all the wurrld of the lady that sings in the Cathedral, whin she makes her voice go that trimbly way. 'Who told you about Santa Claus?' she asked the little chap.

"'Karl,' says he, 'the boy on the first floor, that sells papers.' It's that Dutch family that has just moved in," explained Mrs. Flaherty parenthetically, with pardonable condescension due to pride of race.

"'Mamma,' says he, 'are we poor people? Karl says Santa Claus doesn't come to poor people's houses.'"

* * *

Christie stole a hasty glance at his wife. But her feelings, whatever they were, were hidden beneath a settled scowl..

"What did she answer him?" he asked, in a voice which just missed being usual.

"Sure she answered nothin' at all, an' I got the idea she was huggin' an' kissin' him. But about two in the mornin'—it gives me the creeps to think of it—I was lyin' awake, whin all at once I heard a voice pleadin' low but fierce like—yis, fierce. It was awful. An' thin it flashed on me she was prayin'. It was all about the kid. Sure she stopped just in time for I couldn't stand it no longer, I was that scared. An' now the poor cratur is stritched on her back."

Mrs. Flaherty paused; not at all because she had run short of speech, but because with that unerring eloquence which is sister of the brogue she realized that here was a climax.

"Vhat is der matter mit der woman?" Christie asked, after a respectful pause out of deference to Mrs. Flaherty's oratorical requirements. "Has she any real sickness, or is she just fagged out?"

"Sure I don't know, but it's sickness enough for a woman like her not to be able to work. Ivery time she tried to git to the machine this morning' she fell, an' had to quit. Mrs. Maloney an' the Dutch woman is takin' turns waitin' on her an' feedin' her broth."

Christie waited, none too hopefully, for his wife to offer to take a part in this act of neighborliness. No doubt Mrs. Flaherty had a similar notion; beyond question some idea was stewing in her mind, for she was not a woman to keep silence without good cause. And when she spoke again her tone was a shade more formal.

* * *

"Well, you won't forgit the cilery, will you?" she admonished, as she turned to leave. "An' a merry Christmas to you both."

Christie was small of stature, with delicate features. His wife was big and square jawed. Such success as they had had in business was due to her, and he knew it. A quart and a half of potatoes for the price of a quart would have been the hardest bargain he could drive, if left to himself.

In general, she was boss; but on occasions he knew how to assert himself. Not by any gentle process of reasoning could he hope to move her—she was too big and stolid for that. It required a quick, explosive sort of motive power to have any effect on her at all.

He walked slowly back and forth across the little store, occasionally fastening a penetrating glance upon his wife, who had seated herself at the desk and was figuring laboriously with a stubby pencil in the account book.

* * *

After a few turns he stopped before an empty box which was standing in the middle of the floor, and studied it attentively. It seemed to furnish him with the desired inspiration. Drawing back his foot deliberately, he let go a vicious kick, smashing in the side with a report which brought his spouse to life with a jump.

"Christie!" she cried, "what is the matter?"

Not oftener than every couple of years did Christie show any sign of temper. When he did it always meant something.

"Vhat's der matter?" he flared. "Every-t'ing is der matter. Boxes and rubbish left in der way round here till der place looks like a pig pen. People kickin' cause dey have to do a little work now and den—I never saw anyt'ing like it!" He pounded his fist angrily on the little counter.

His wife stared at him in awe. She regarded these periodic outbursts in the light of some fearful catastrophe—something which was entirely beyond her control. When they occurred husband and wife exchanged natures, he becoming harsh and immovable, and she gentle and forgiving.

Now it happened that Christie himself had left the box in the middle of the floor after emptying it of condensed milk cans, and this outbreak was so unjust that the flood of arguments which rose for expression in his wife's mind overwhelmed her; she choked with a helpless sob.

Christie knew then that the battle was his. Once he broke through that thick shell of apathy, and gained free attack on her feelings, resistance would be slight.

* * *

"Look at that Mrs. David," he fumed with a fine showing of anger. "What kind of woman is that to bring up a boy? I know she is sick now and can't do nothin', but ain't that her own fault? Why didn't she take care of herself? I tell you women don't do their duty nowadays."

"Why, Christie," she reproached him weakly, "hasn't she done everything a woman could do? Didn't her brute of a husband go away and leave her alone with that child? It's a good thing he did, too—precious little she ever got from him but clubbings! And she certainly has tried to take care of the boy. Night and day for the last six months she has been at the machine. No wonder she has broken down."

"Well, don't other people have to work, too? What if she does have to sew a little? What does she want to do, sit round der house all day and read der papers, and go gallivantin' der streets dressed up like a monkey without any clothes on? What are women comin' to, anyway!"

"I hate to hear you say such things," she returned in a strained voice, which showed symptoms of breaking. "Would you want people to talk that way about me, if I had been left alone with poor little Friedrich?" The last few words were sobbed, rather than spoken.

Christie started up impetuously and raged round the room, sputtering huge mouthfuls of alleviating gutturals. From the frequent repetition of a certain suggestive syllable, a careless listener might have got the impression that Christie was arguing with himself about mill pond dykes, or reservoirs—something which required the forcible obstruction of flowing water.

"Goodness gracious!" he exploded finally, "what has—er—**Friedrich** got to do mit it? If that ain't just like a woman!" To save his soul he could not have helped moderating his tone on that word **Friedrich.**

His wife made to reply. She was sitting dumbly before the account book, her lips quivering, her eyes blinking tremulously.

Christie's role became difficult. An omnious pressure under the eyelids warned him that he had better force the attack quickly, or it would be too late. So, as soon as he could trust himself to speak, he went on in a milder tone:

"What makes me so mad is to t'ink der little feller ain't goin' to have no Santa Claus or none of that kind of business. There ain't nobody to do a t'ing for him."

There was a period of tense silence. Then the woman seemed to awaken.

Softly but quickly she made her way to Christie's side, and laid a timid hand on his shoulder.

* * *

"Christie," she breathed, in a voice which recalled weirdly the first days of her motherhood, "let us be Santa Claus to him, just the same as if it was Friedrich."

"Py Cott," Christie cried, becoming even more German, as he always did when thoroughly excited, and lying like a (royal) gentleman, "you're yoost like him, always wantin' to gif people t'ings!"

She wheeled hastily and dashed into the little living room at the rear of the store.

He followed her into the darkness. Her outstretched arms waited longingly to fold him.

"I can't bear it," she sobbed, "I can't bear it!"

For a long while they stood there, clasping each other tightly, the tears trickling ceaselessly down their cheeks. She kept moaning, "Oh, my baby, my baby!"

At last a barely perceptible touch conveyed to Christie that she wanted to be alone.

With a fine sense of chivalry which bowed without inquisitiveness to the higher than reason exigencies of feminineness, he gave her a final, but not too protracted, caress and returned to the store.

In a few minutes she came out with a shawl over her head and shoulders.

"I'm going over to see how Mrs. David is," she said, "and find out what they need most."

"Goot, do that," he returned.

With kindly eyes he watched her go.

* * *

Through the frost streaked windows he gazed at the street, streaming with the dumb tragedy of the East Side. Husky, unheeding men and women crowded ruthlessly those whose steps were numbered. Gaunt, hollow cheeked women went by in an unending line dragging after them beautiful but sickly looking children, with large wistful eyes which seemed forever stealing backward at some unattainable treasure passed by in a shop window.

A shabbily dressed woman with a little girl entered the grocery.

"How do you do, Mrs. Ross," Christie accosted her cheerily, his gaze instantly switching to the little girl. "Why, der little lady is gettin' so big I hardly know her. How old is she now?"

The woman's eyes, which a moment before had been dull and expressionless, grew beautiful with the glow of mother-love.

"She was six in November," she answered proudly.

◆

Christie beamed with delight as a sudden determination came to him. He picked up a few colored cookies—then in wild orgy of riotous freedom and liberty to give without criticism he seized recklessly a handful of sugar kisses and a small yellow haired doll, and wrapped them up with the woman's purchase.

"Sneak it in der stocking to-night," he whispered confidentially.

The woman's eyes flashed with the quick resentment of the poor at charity. But Christie, wise from experience, had assumed an expression that was almost ferocious, and was looking up at the ceiling (which really was not very far up) with an intent gaze, as though the affairs of a head floor-walker were weighting him.

Unable to find even the slightest opportunity for declaration of independence, the woman covered her embarrassment by tormenting the bewildered favorite of the fairies into saying, "Thank you, sir."

Christie noted with satisfaction, however, that although she gave the child the cookies, she held aside the doll as a prize for the Christmas stocking.

Other customers came and went. Each little tot that entered the store that evening departed the happier.

◆

Finally he began to get uneasy. What could be keeping the frau? The round clock hanging to a nail on the wall showed that she had been gone long over an hour.

He tied up some soda crackers in five-cent packages. He picked up the broken box which he had smashed, chuckling gleefully as he put it to one side.

At last she came—but hardly did Christie recognize her. Her gait, which before had been heavy and listless, now showed a purpose, some new zest in life; her countenance was of one who had witnessed a tragedy and had come away ennobled. Under one arm she carried a small bundle, evidently clothing; and clinging to her hand—Christie's heart thumped violently—was a little boy.

He knew the child. Often had he forgotten his dull surroundings lost in wonderment at the boy's big, dreamy brown eyes. Such a boy would have been his Friedrich. Not to a soul had he ever whispered such a thought; but in his heart he knew it. And in his heart he felt, too, that his wife had always divined his interest in the boy, and through some peculiar feminine method of reasoning secretly resented it as unfaithfulness to their angel.

Yet now she had brought him to their home.

◆

With a newly acquired pride she steadfastly returned Christie's look of wonderment and led the boy to the little room at the rear of the store.

"Sit down in that chair, Edwin," she commanded kindly, after lighting the oil lamp, "until I can make you some supper. I'm sure you need it."

In a few minutes she came out to Christie her face aglow.

He studied her questioningly.

"She's gone," she said simply. After a slight pause she continued, "Before she died I told her we would take the boy and bring him up as if he were ours. I could see she was not much longer for this world and I felt she was worrying about him. When I promised her that, she fastened those big eyes of hers on me and stared at me until I was almost frightened. Then she reached out her arms for the boy and cried over him, and hugged him as though she would never let go. But after a moment she just lay back and smiled, and the first thing we knew it was over. I knew then that she had only been fighting it off to take care of him."

◆

Christie gazed at his wife with a new appreciation.

"I'm afraid we ought to have helped that poor woman," she reproached herself, "but we'll make it up to the boy. We've got to take care of him. There is no one else to do it."

"Sure we've got to," Christie confirmed hastily, still somewhat fearful lest the charm might fail.

But even then there was rising in his mind the puzzling question of a sled versus an Irish Mail, as a Christmas present. The weight of favor leaned toward the latter—but although a man of rare broadmindedness, it was not human to endure daily the condescensions of the rich-tongued aristocrats of the East Side without acquiring certain prejudices, and he balked at the incongruity of anything called an Irish Mail for a boy who would soon be known as Klingneckel.

◆

"I've got to hurry back and help take care of her," his wife whispered, too softly for the child to hear.

"Now Edwin," she said, bustling into the rear room again, "after you finish your supper you must wash yourself and go to bed early. You must be tired and tomorrow is Christmas and you'll want to be up early."

"Tell him not to forget to hang up his stocking for Santa Claus," cautioned Christie.

If only Edwin's mother could have seen him that Christmas eve, hanging up his stocking—or better still the next morning unhanging it! We will believe that she did see him, and that her joy was even greater than his—which is saying much. For Santa Claus had brought him apples (of course), and candy kisses, and things with spangles and gold fringe, a toy gun, a baseball, and—Christie knew how to decide when he really had time to ponder—an Irish Mail!

◆

"It bates the Dutch the way things turn out with different people," philosophized Mrs. Flaherty the next time she came into the grocery store. "There was Mrs. Mullaly, that niver missed a confission in her life, ye might say, an' she crazy for her daughter Gladys May to marry on the Foorce, an' got Father Rooney to pray spishial for it, an' what does the gal do? Run off with a laundry driver. An' thin look at that poor Mrs. David gittin' her prayer answered without a praist at all, an' she not even a mimber of the Church—although I will tistify that she did her duty by her child! I'll bet she niver expicted it herself!"

(The End.)

THE KAISER OF ARKANSAS

Germany's Kaiser broke the Belgian treaty and levied huge war indemnities on the conquered cities. But why be angry?

Down in Arkansas Franklin Bache, Kaiser of the Hartford Valley coal mines, had a contract with the United Mine Workers. It was a treaty of peace.

Bache decided it was only a "scrap of paper." He tore up his contract, declared war against the union, and brought in a horde of mercenary cutthroats, commonly called special deputies. By these the life, honor and property of the miners and their families was made unsafe.

Mass meetings had been called to protest against this declaration of war by Kaiser Bache, even as in Europe. Business houses in the three towns nearest Hartford Valley were closed and the merchants, together with the people, held great gatherings to protest against war and to demand peace. The scab mineworkers were interviewed by peaceful committees with the consent of the superintendent, and they promised to join the union.

But Bache appealed to the Federal Court, and secured an injunction, forbidding any one to interfere with the operation of the mines, no matter how they were run. And the cutthroats of the special detective agencies got to work.

The method of these men is invariable. It it to stir up the strikers by all possible means of insult and outrage to provoke violence by violence. For the longer the strike lasts the longer their jobs are secure; and the worse the trouble becomes the better is their pay.

The miners rebelled, and burned some of Bache's property. The gunmen were driven away—driven away in utter rout.

Then Bache had his company declared bankrupt AND HAD HIMSELF APPOINTED RECEIVER. He became an officer of the Federal government, under the protection of a Federal court; and in that capacity he demanded United States troops—and got them. They went from Fort Sheridan, Chicago, to enforce the contract-breaker's decrees.

Then Bache brought suit against the miners' union for a war indemnity of $1,250,000—estimated at twice the value of his property. The case will be heard January 15. Meanwhile he has seized all funds belonging to the union. Every bank in Arkansas containing union funds was garnisheed. Not even the old age pension and sick benefit funds were exempted. The old must suffer in poverty, the sick die in squalor, the strong men starve, their wives and children famish—because Bache, Kaiser and contract-breaker—is the Federal government in Hartford Valley.

A scab mine operator is a Federal official. To resist him is to fight the United States. He violated his contract and broke his solemn pledge; but to resent this is to commit high treason.

He let loose on American citizens the hideous outrages of mercenary assassins—and wrapped them in the Stars and Stripes. To defend one's home is to assail the flag; to protect one's wife and children is to be an enemy of law and order.

And this hideous, horrible mockery of justice, humanity and decency is the New Freedom, sanctioned with the highly grammatical benediction of the most rhetorical president we have ever had.

Contracts with capitalists are waste paper. For they can violate their contracts and call the government to their aid to punish YOU for their violation—unless you control the government.

Men of the working class, the business of dickering with capitalist bosses and capitalist There is no honor where profits are in sight. politicians is nonsense, from beginning to end.

TAKE THE GOVERNMENT! There is the only hope.

Why did Bache break his contract?

He was facing impoverishment. Bad administration had brought his business to disaster. But when he began this fight he had unlimited funds at his disposal. Whence did they come?

The strikers believe that the Colorado Fuel and Iron company is reaching out to break the union in Arkansas, as it has tried to break it in Colorado. It is war to the death between the Rockefeller money power and the Mine Workers.

But so long as the government remains in the hands of the money power, and is kept there by the votes of the workers, there can be but one issue to the struggle. The workers must lose.

Let us gain a lesson from the Allies. Because German strategy contemptuously called the Belgian treaty a "scrap of paper"; disregarded the plighted word of the Empire and levied war indemnities of countless millions on Belgian cities for allowing themselves to be captured, they have proclaimed that peace cannot come until Germany has been deprived of the power to make treaties or to break them.

Any other treaty would be as worthless as the Belgian treaty, say they. They have learned by experience.

But Labor will not learn.

What American Bishops

Can You See Here Any Other Soluti

The Christian Socialist sent to every bishop of the Roman Catholic, Protestant Episcopal and Methodist churches in the United States a letter asking his opinion of the causes of the present European war, and of the best means of preventing its recurrence. The view of this paper was stated, that behind the war lies commercial competition for economic advantage, and that war cannot be ended until Mammonistic competition is replaced by Christian co-operation.

It will be seen that practically all of the bishops who responded admitted the truth of this position, though adducing other causes as well. But that the root of war is **Economic Competition** seems to be taken for granted by the leaders of the Church in America. One step more, and they will agree that the Co-operative Commonwealth is the sole cure for War

We have indicated the **Christian Socialist** position after each letter.

* * *

ROMAN CATHOLIC

Scranton, Pa.

Dear Sir:

The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Scranton wishes me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of recent date and thank you for the invitation for the expression of an opinion on the causes of the present war. In reply I would say that his opinions with regard to the causes agree very much with your own.

Very truly yours,
A. W. Brennan, Secy.

THE CHRISTIAN NATIONS NOW AT WAR

Here are approximate figures showing the tremendous extent of the Christian organizations in the countries which are now slaughtering one another while the message of the Carpenter of Nazareth is drowned in the scream of shrapnel, the choking gurgle of the dying and the moans of the wounded.

Country.	Protestants.	Roman Catholics.	Greek Catholics.	Total.
Great Britain	34,400,000	5,600,000	....	42,000,000
France	700,000	38,100,000	....	38,800,000
Germany	35,400,000	20,300,000	....	55,700,000
Austria-Hungary	4,300,000	35,900,000	4,200,000	44,400,000
Belgium	20,000	6,700,000	....	6,720,000
Russia	4,000,000	12,100,000	84,100,000	100,200,000
Servia	6,000	60,000	1,600,000	1,666,000
Totals	80,826,000	118,760,000	89,900,000	289,486,000

Comment

I thank my God upon every remembrance of you for your fellowship in the Good News.—Philip 1:3-5.

Toledo, Ohio.

Dear Sir:-

As the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Toledo is too busy at present to attend to matters of such a nature, he has commissioned me to respond in his stead to your recent request for an expression of sentiment relative to the war in Europe.

The enclosure is herewith submitted in accordance with the wish of the Rt. Rev. Bishop.

Very sincerely yours,
Barry O'Toole,
Secretary to the Bishop of Toledo.

THE FOLLY OF WAR.

Once more unfortunate humanity bleeds beneath the dreadful scourge of War.

Once more a hundred battlefields have drunk their gory tribute and lie littered with the slain.

Black, smouldering ruins mark the spots where once fair cities stood.

In desolate homes the widow and the orphan weep.

Where once the glad sunshine of prosperity smiled, there death, destruction, and devastation reign supreme.

The grim spectre of Famine and Pestilence hovers over all, and rears its gaunt and ghastly visage above the blue smoke of the death-belching cannon.

A man's, a nation's, lust for gold, or power, may so win the paltry, selfish triumph that it sought—but good God, at what a price!

The glory and renown? What mockery such scenes of carnage make of these empty names!

Yes, this is the most heartrending thought of all, that in sharp contrast to the fatal cost, the dreadful holocaust of life and happiness entailed, the utter futility of war will sooner or later become manifest to all.

After the combatants have had their fill of slaughter and destruction, over the ruins of their mutual happiness and weal, truce is declared and terms are finally agreed upon. The pity of it all is that such agreements should follow rather than precede a war!

"But what good came of it at last?
. . . .
Why, that I cannot tell, said he;
But' twas a famous victory."

(Rev.) Barry O'Toole, D.D., Ph.D.
Secretary to the Bishop of Toledo.

Comment

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace! Isaiah 63:8.

For all the armor of the armed man in the tumult, and the garments rolled in blood, shall be for burning, and for fuel of fire.. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and his name shall be called wonderful, counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and of peace there shall be no end. Isaiah 9:8.

Bismarck, N. D., Sept. 7, 1914.

In reply to your inquiry I must first say: The title of your publication is contradictory. Socialism is built upon materialistic principles which are in contradiction to Christian principles; rejecting some Christian principles, you reject Christianity, for Christianity is a unit. I do not say that the different so-called Christian denominations are a unit; but I say, Christianity as it exists in the establishment which Christ founded and which He calls His Church, is a unit; you cannot reject some of its principles without rejecting the Church as Christ's divine institution. Therefore, Christian Socialism is simply impossible in the strict sense of both words, Christian and Socialism.

The fight against Christian principles, the banishing of the Commandments of God from politics, national pride and national hatred, as they have been developed for the last few centuries, then, also, greed and selfishness, are the real causes of this war between the European nations, though men may dispute about the immediate causes which have precipitated the war.

Respectfully yours,
Vincent Wehrle,
Bishop of Bismarck.

Comment

Even though the Bishop decline to recognize Christian Socialists as possible, we believe there is One who does.

"O, God, doubtless Thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not." Isaiah 63:16.

METHODIST

Bishop McDowell, M. E.

Evanston, Ill.

Dear Sir:-

Your letter to Bishop McDowell came just as he was leaving town. However, he has authorized me to say that this war seems to him the most unnecessary and inhuman war of all time; that he has but one bit of encouragement about it, namely, that it may possibly be the means of bringing to an end the method of settling differences by war.

Sincerely yours,
M. E. Wilson,
Secretary to the Bishop.

Comment

By what means shall this be done? What would the Bishop outline as the program to be followed by Christians?

"If the trumpet give forth an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?". 1 Cor. 14:8.

Socialism alone knows how to end all future strife.

Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir: I am just returning from Europe. I inclose my answer to your request and am ready to stand by it.

Yours faithfully,
John William Hamilton.

The cause of the war is deep-seated; the occasions are manifold, involved. The anachronous kings were terrorized by the democratic atmosphere investing the whole earth. Their thrones were precarious with the unrest of their peoples. They were jealous of the stable constitutional governments of the world; their economic commercial prosperity and world power. Their ambition was to be over all. Like Alexander and Napoleon, they believed only war could win. The "divine right" of emperors necessitates military maintenance; the rights of the people, only the public intelligence and conscience under Christian tuition. Hence, the antiquated monarchs fight the modern world. History holds them and their obsolete claim responsible for both the cause and occasion of the war.

The only cure for the anarchy of nations, as well as of individuals, is the monarchy of Jesus Christ.

John William Hamilton.

Comment

But the Kings are not fighting. They are but figureheads for the ruling commercial classes of their nations. These classes are contending for commercial supremacy, so that they can make exclusive profit by disposing of the products created by the working classes. Is not this plain?

According to the Gospel, the monarchy of Jesus means that the meek shall inherit the earth, and that the poor-in-spirit, the "class-conscious," are to rule over the kingdoms.

"Behold, I am among you as one that serveth." Luke 22:27.

Humanity The Cure

Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sir:—I partly agree with the view of your paper that behind the struggle lies competition for economic advantage. But I think that also national ideals of doubtful ethical worth have come in as driving forces. Desire for national revenge and notions of the superiority of national types of life, together with an accumulation of interracial hatreds have helped toward the present result. How far all this roots in economic competition I am unable to determine.

The only way to prevent recurrence of such strife is by the emphasis upon the human values for which I believe you stand. F. J. McConnell.

Christian Socialist:

Helena, Mont.

All agree that this European war is dreadful, many think it needless, few understand fully the causes which lie back of it. While civilization and Christian progress may be for a time embarrassed and handicapped by it, I do not believe they will be thwarted or long halted by it. In the long run more may be accomplished through it for peace and progress than by Mr. Carnegie's millions. It is a drastic way to look at it, but it may be a sort of bloody Peace Congress itself in its far away results; for war is sometimes a bloody exchange of ideas. One thing is certain, the power to declare war has passed forever from kings and rulers, the people themselves will determine that. For another thing, the incubus of military and naval armaments which has rested so long on the race will be lifted. Yes, commercial competition is one element in the struggle, but I do not think it the only one. I quite agree with you that Christian co-operation supplanting selfish competition will make for the healing of the world. We must push on into it.

Sincerely yours,
Naphtali Luccock.

Comment

A bloody peace congress, indeed! Can twenty centuries of Christianity suggest no better way? The Socialist victories in Sweden and Australia, coming in the midst of the war, show that we are "pushing into it" even now.

Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Sir:

Christian co-operation is the ideal, and the way to it is set forth in Isaiah XI.

Fraternally,
David H. Moore,
Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

(Isaiah XI: And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a branch out of his roots shall bear fruit. The Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord. And his delight shall be in the fear of the Lord; and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither decide after the hearing of his ears; BUT WITH JUSTICE SHALL HE JUDGE THE POOR, and decide with equity for the meek of the earth. . . . . And justice shall be the girdle of his reins, and faithfulness the girdle of his loins. . . . . They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountains; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.)

EPISCOPAL

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your courteous request. In adopting the suggestion of our Chief Magistrate, extreme

Think About the War

For War Than World-Wide Socialism?

reticency, I think, should be observed by Americans on this matter in the interest of strict neutrality.

Faithfully yours,
Daniel S. Tuttle,
Bishop of Missouri,
Presiding Bishop American Church.

Seattle, Wash.

Editor The Christian Socialist:

My dear Sir:

This fearful war is the result of personal ambition and Mammonistic competition. It is an outrage, barbarous and unchristian. That one dominant personage should have the power of invoking the slaughter of many thousands is simply horrible.

To prevent such a situation we should have, instead of "Triple Alliances," a "World National Alliance," preventing any one power or person from perpetrating such an unholy, unjustifiable, pitiless war.

Sincerely yours,
P. T. Rowe,
Bishop of Alaska.

Comment

There has been such a "World Alliance" in the form of the Christian Church for nearly two thousand years. How came it to lose its power? Is it not because of its alliance with the governments and the greed which brought on this war? Another International Alliance of those who have everything to lose and nothing to gain by the war, the working people, exists in the form of the Socialist Party. This sorely needs the spirit of martyrdom, of enthusiasm and of personal devotion contained in Christianity. When the Christian Church has wholeheartedly endorsed the Socialist cause, then wars will be brought speedily to an end.

Social Democracy.

My dear Mr. Editor:

This war seems to me to be the result of a desire for power and autocratic rule. One great remedy will be found in the establishing of the principle of real democracy, where the people are represented and have a voice in conducting the affairs of the government. Christian co-operation and the practical application of the teaching of Christ in the social and political life of nations would make the recurrence of such a war impossible.

Ever faithfully yours,
Ethelbert Talbot,
Bishop of Bethlehem, Pa.

Comment

Amen! Even so come Lord Jesus.

War Is a Disease.

Under modern efficiency methods there ought to be a world "Department" to put out wars as we put out fires. There ought to be a "treatment" for nanional obsessions of might making right—like that voiced by Bismarck over fifty years ago: "Our strength can proceed only from the policy of a great military power"—to house and to cure them as in a sanitarium for civic health. There ought to be the "man for the hour" who would as righteously render to God the things that are God's as to Caesar the things that be Kaiser's or Czar's, or the things of powers that be, whether Presidents, Labor Leaders, Socialists, or other serious Pragmatists of any sort! The apparatus, the specializing, the Man Christ Jesus, are all at hand in the Church of God. May not this cataclysmic war warn all this anew?

Wm. F. Nichols,
Bishop of California.

Comment

Modern efficiency methods are much more interested in fire PREVENTION than in fire extinguishing. They seek causes, rather than remedies. On all hands it is acknowledged that commercial competition is the cause of war. Only by its removal and the substitution of world-wide co-operation in the Socialist commonwealth can efficient war-prevention succeed.

"From whence come wars, and fightings amongst you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts?" James 4:1.

Sioux Falls, S. Dak.

Dear Sir:

In addition to competition for economic and commercial advantage, behind the struggle lie selfish ambition, the love of power, the lying doctrine that "might is right." It is the logical and inevitable result of the spirit of militarism and despotism. The war will, in the Providence of God, act as its own antidote. The horror and shame of it all will, I believe, make it impossible of recurrence. It sounds the death knell of militarism and autocracy—the birth pangs of a new world-wide democracy. "Christian co-operation" seems to me to be still a somewhat general and indefinite term.

Geo. Biller, Jr.,
Bishop of South Dakota.

Comment

The horror and shame of war have always been evident. But war is not ended. World-wide democracy—if it be international—will end exploitation of any part of the world by any other part. This will end the motive power of war.

My kingdom is not out of this order. If my kingdom were of this order, then would my servants fight; but now is my kingdom not from hence. John 18:36.

Wants Real Religion.

Dear Sir:

Deeper than economic competition, the true causes of war are men's suspicion, distrust and hatred of each other. Race prejudices inflame the minds of a whole people, fear of one another leads to military armament and preparation, then some special occurrence acts like a firebrand, kindling a conflagration which carries ruin and unspeakable horrors before it burns itself out. Competition for commercial advantage is wasteful, co-operation is much to be desired; the welfare of the whole people should be the goal of every Christian economist, but wars will never cease until religion ceases to be formal and traditional with masses of men, and the gentle Christ reigns in love over the hearts of men.

Wm. Hall Moreland,
Bishop of Sacramento.

Comment

The Church has been preaching this for nearly twenty centuries. Christ was not so "gentle" when addressing the official expounders of the religion of his day. **"Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye tithe mint, and anise, and cummin, and have left undone the weightier matters of the Law—JUSTICE, mercy and faith!"** Had the Church preached justice, mercy and faith, as diligently as she has creed and ceremonial, there would have been no war. Christ's gentleness was toward the poor and the tricked; his attitude toward their rulers and tricksters was of unquenchable wrath.

Dear Sir:

Referring to your inquiry as to the causes of the present war, I would say that I could express myself better were I not in charge of churches in several of the warring countries. I have to be a neutral in every sense if I am ever to be of any use abroad again.

I can only say that from ten visits abroad I have not gained the impression that commerce had much to do with this war.

Truly yours,
G. Mott Williams,
Bishop of Marquette.

In charge of American Churches on Continent of Europe.

Cincinnati, Ohio, 223 W. 7th st,

Brother and Dear Sir:

Pardon me, if, in reply to your inquiry, I say, with entire respectfulness, that I think your view of the causes of the present war partial and inadequate. It is true that there have been desperate rivalries among some of these nations "for economic and commercial advantages." But those were the struggles of peace. I do not think they had much initial or direct bearing on this war. It is true, as a general proposition, that the "wars and fightings among men have come from their 'lusts' (passions)." But in this case it was something more than the mere lust of commercial or political advantage, or even the lust of conquest (love of power), which initiated and is sustaining this war. Much more profoundly,—it is a racial rivalry,—to the death, now—between Slavs and Teutons; the one clamoring for a complete racial and national existence, and the other as determinedly seeking its own racial dominance, and both coveting the additional territory which each thinks Providence has destined for it as necessary to its complete racial development. For it is true that just "as God has made of one blood" (not "all nations," but) "every or each nation of men," so He has "determined beforehand the bounds of their habitation." In other words, until each of the hundred peoples of the earth has found its own [illegible] habitat within natural boundaries, just such tremendous racial struggles are as inevitable as the great upheavals of the earth's crust from time to time, until the underlying forces have found their equilibrium. All other causes of this war are only secondary influences.

Such struggles will go on, then, so long as mere human passions dominate. They will gradually cease only as the Spirit of Jesus Christ prevails and men come to love peace better than war—even in such interests. This is the little yeast leavening the lump until the whole is leavened.

Yours truly,
Boyd Vincent,
Bishop of Ohio.

Comment

But the struggles of peace lead directly into the struggles of war; the same objects are the prizes in both. When commercial trickery and diplomatic fraud, and industrial strategy and excellence have failed, then the trickery, strategy and endurance of war are called into play.

Suppose a nation gets too big for its habitat? Can you compel steam to stay indefinitely in a boiler, without any outlet, by law?

Dear Sir:

It seems to me a war of national selfishness and race hatred. Germany is reaping the fruit of exacting, after her defensive war of 1870, a territorial indemnity from the conquered. She is the last civilized nation, except Austria, to do the "robber baron act," take land because she could. Had Austria not been given Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Balkan grievance would not have existed acutely. Jealousy of the trade expansion of other nations lies at the root of all. The responsibility is divided. All nations, our own included, share in the national feeling that trade must be defended. You are right; the competitive system, only slightly softened by Christian altruism, is the same in national life and morals as in individual and corporate, law and public opinion will not let trade competitors in the same nation fight each other with sword and gun. As yet, there is no law or public spirit strong enough to keep nations from so fighting for trade advantage and greed of gain. Only the spread of the conviction of fairness, charity, mutual helpfulness are owing to a brother man because he is a brother man, whether Teuton, Gaul, Slav, Chinese or African, can heal or mend this state of affairs.

F. K. Brooke,
Bishop of Oklahoma.

427 W. 9th St., Oklahoma City, Okla.

Comment

Jealousy of the trade expansion of other nations lies at the root; but why be jealous? Why not co-operate? Is it not plain that the ruling class of each nation desires to enrich itself at the expense of the working class of its own nation, and of all classes of all other nations? Why not abolish ruling classes? The working classes of no two nations are at enmity. International brotherhood under the symbol of the one Red Flag is the only solution.

Concord, New Hampshire.

My Dear Sir: I do not feel that I am enough of a scholar of economics to make such a careful and weighty reply to your question on the line that you indicate, as would satisfy me, or be worthy of your publication. This very dreadful war is certainly something which should make all Christian people think very seriously and with great searchings of heart as to the cause of its occurrence and the best means of preventing its recurrence. Very sincerely yours,

Edward M. Parker,
Bishop of New Hampshire.

"Among the watercourses of Reuben there were great searchings of heart. Why abodest thou among the sheepfolds, to hear the bleatings of the [illegible]? Among the watercourses of Reuben there were great searchings of heart." Jud. 5:15.

THE CHRISTIAN MAJORITY IN THE SLAUGHTER

What the Christian majority in the European slaughter is, is shown in the following table, framed from the most authentic figures obtainable. It will be noted that in each of the seven countries the Christian churches have the greatest number of adherents:

Country.	Population.	Christians.	Per Cent.
Great Britain	45,000,000	42,000,000	.933
France	39,300,000	38,800,000	.987
Germany	64,900,000	55,700,000	.858
Austria-Hungary	49,400,000	44,400,000	.899
Belgium	7,300,000	6,720,000	.920
Russia	160,000,000	100,200,000	.626
Servia	2,800,000	1,666,000	.595
Totals	366,270,000	289,486,000	.790

The time for searchings of heart has passed; the hosts of the Lord are battling against industrial competition, which is the root of modern war.

From the "Socialist Bishop."

Salt Lake City, Utah.

Dear Sir:

The German Kaiser seems to me to be possessed with the idea that he is divinely called to champion the cause of Teutonic civilization. The disintegration of Austria makes him feel that the time has come to strike a paralyzing blow against the Slavonic races. The best means of preventing the recurrence of such a war is to abolish imperialism of all kinds and substitute therefor a thorough-going democracy. In proportion as the democracy idea wins its way, patriotism in terms of peaceful, constructive industry will take the place of patriotism in terms of war.

Yours faithfully,
F. S. Spalding.

Comment

He, being dead, yet speaketh. Heb. 11:4.

Utica, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Undoubtedly the selfish desire for gain is at the root of the evil, so far as the people who are advocating it are concerned, or at least, the larger part of them. But there is also the lust of power and imperial predominance influencing the leaders, and nothing but the Christian principles of co-operation and regard for human rights can ever put a stop to these things.

Very truly yours,
Chas. Tyler Olmsted,
Bishop of Central New York.

Comment

Neither lust of power nor lust for wealth regards human rights or human lives. Until lust for wealth is dethroned, lust for power will have its nerve uncut; and this can never be so long as competition for necessities of life persists. **"Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." Matt. 6:24.**

Lexington, Ky.

Dear Sir:

Replying to your inquiry I would venture to say that I cannot anticipate the day when, in the natural course of events, co-operation will have displaced competition. But I believe that the latter can be controlled, and that the former can be made more practical and can be increased.

I believe that commercial and imperial greed and jealousy are back of this war. The trend is perhaps natural towards the absorption of the small state or nation analogously to the trend in business. But militarism was the immediate and provoking cause. Undoubtedly back of that were racial influences. The spirit of militarism can obsess a people with the idea of preparedness for war till they become over-sensitive to affronts, habituated to the idea of war, and almost disposed to go to war to justify the preparation for it. The psychological power of suggestion has thus full sway.

Faithfully yours, Lewis W. Burton,
Bishop of Lexington.

Comment

"They that live by the sword shall perish by the sword." Socialism would substitute for the military psychology of skilled murder, the creative psychology of production for service; and all wars would be at an end.

Burlington, Vt.

The Christian Socialist:

Entirely agreeing with your general contention [that co-operation, not competition, is the law of life for nations as for individuals, and that the principles of Christian morality should be applied to nations as to persons and to classes], I would emphasize two points:

1. The people everywhere should insist on treaties and their conditions being made openly and with public knowledge, and not secretly by diplomatists behind the backs of the people who are really concerned in the matter.
2. **Agreements arrived at between representatives of different nations at the Hague Conference should be promptly brought before the proper authorities of each nation concerned for ratification, and the action of those authorities in giving or refusing ratification should be published.**

Arthur C. A. Hall,
Bishop of Vermont.

Comment

The vital importance of this is shown by the fact that the people of Italy, when given a chance to decide for themselves, refused to be bound by a secret treaty.

"They take counsel, but not of me, saith the Lord." Is. 30:1. "Wherefore your agreement with death is disannulled, and your covenant with hell shall not stand." Is. 28:15.

Bishop's House, Salina, Kan.

Dear Sir: As the love of money is the root of all evil, I have no doubt that you are in a large measure right in your contention that behind the present war lies "competition for economic or commercial advantage." I am, Yours truly,

Sheldon M. Griswold,
Bishop of Salina.

Comment

Then is it not the Church's duty to denounce competition for economic advantage, and to cease not until production for human service shall have taken its place in a co-operative commonwealth?

Glenwood Springs, Colo.

Dear Sir: I agree with the view that one chief cause of this war is commercial greed, sadly mistaking what constitutes national greatness, from an economic as well as a moral standpoint. Also I want to see "Christian co-operation" succeeding "mammonistic competition."

To be true to my convictions, I add that I consider England and France to be now defending democracy against militarism; and until the protagonist of militarism is humbled, advance in cooperation is blocked. Then let the next practical step be taken in the reduction of armament, by international agreement, to the proportions of police patrols. Very faithfully yours,

Benjamin Brewster,
Bishop of Western Colorado.

Comment

But in what way is Germany's militarism worse than England's navalism? The British Empire is rotten to the core, as the Roman Empire became before it, with the canker of misery and starvation at home. It is relying on the subjugated ends of the world to support its decaying center. England's maxim of supremacy on the sea is surely no better than Germany's maxim of supremacy on the land, and it is much more wasteful. Are they not all guilty? **"There is no distinction; for all have sinned." Romans 3:23.**

Can anything but a complete renewal of the warring nations avail?

Fresno, Cal.

My Dear Sir: I feel that now the European war is on, there is no human hope of its being ended except by a fight to the finish. I trust that the horror of the conflict will compel the nations to enter into an agreement to refer all future disputes to an international court.

Your diagnosis of the underlying cause of the struggle seems to me correct. International commercial co-operation is however apparently a long way off, but it is the ideal to strive for. Very truly yours,

Louis C. Sanford,
Bishop of San Joaquin.

Comment

"Behold, now is our salvation nearer than when we first believed." Romans 13:11.

London, England.

My Dear Sir: Your letter, asking me to express an opinion as to the economic aspects of this hideous war, has been forwarded to me here. I agree with you, that selfish greed and competition has been one chief factor in bringing it about. I am compelled, however, to say, that the published utterances of eminent and influential Germans demonstrate that they have become intoxicated with the notion, that the world belongs to them and that they have the right and power to rule over it. With this obsession, to back up and aggravate their disappointment and resentment, because of commercial boundaries and limitations, the war, as they declared, became for them an inevitable destiny. My hope is, that God, who sometimes works His will through cataclysms and revolutions, means through this catastrophe to bring a new birth of real democracy to mankind.

Very sincerely yours,
Thomas F. Gailor,
Bishop of Tennessee.

Comment.

Jesus' plan for his church was a "real democracy." "He that will be greatest among you," said He, "let him be your servant." Why did the church wait for a "catastrophe" to bring democracy?

Bishop Johnson.

Kerrville, Tex.

Dear Sir:

To the shame of Christians, the Socialists are the only ones who in this hell's brew are standing for universal brotherhood; but they, too, are impotent because they have lost touch with the Fatherhood of God by letting go of the Divine Sonship of Jesus.

One of the most influential causes of the war has been race antagonism, dating back hundreds, possibly thousands, of years, fanned by religious fanaticism, and kept alive by dynastic jealousies; to which might be added the numbness and bigotry of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Eastern churches, caused in large degree by conflicts with Mohammedanism, which caused them to lose the idea of a universal brotherhood and to create in the minds of their votaries a bitter contempt for all who differed from them on technical points of doctrine. This feeling of unbrotherliness has grown up in Germany, a nominally Protestant country, because of widespread skepticism.

Still another cause of the war was the fact that two of the most powerful thrones of Europe were occupied by what Mr. Gladstone, just before his death, said were two irresponsible young despots. If these two autocrats can have their claws clipped, as in England, where a king is about as harmless as a cat, some good at least would result from the devilish destruction of life and property that is now going on.

It is most significant that in all this bloody welter that is going on, the Socialists alone stand for the universal brotherhood of the race.

J. S. Johnson,
Bishop of West Texas (retired).

Comment

It is even so, as St. Paul wrote:

"First Moses saith: 'I will provoke you to jealousy by them that are no people, and by an unwise nation will I anger you.' But Esaias is very bold, and saith: 'I was found of them that knew me not; I was made manifest unto them that asked not after me.'" Romans 10:19.

So Socialists, though sometimes abjuring God, have found Him, while Christians, called by His name, are sometimes strangers.

Dear Sir:

The dreadful war prevailing in Europe serves to show that so-called Christian civilization is still far short of having attained to the Christian ideal. This seems to be as true in international affairs as in the smaller strifes of individual and class relationships in any one country. For me the only ray of light is to be found in the thought that progress has ever been gradual and its upward steps are usually based on the grim lessons of hard experience. The very fact that this war has been and will be so terrible in its results may help forward the volume of world-wide sentiment against war. I believe it is true that competition for commercial advantage has mingled with natural national pride in creating a desire for colonial expansion, and thus prove more clearly that, however great the progress lies in the background of the causes of the war. In proportion as the world grows toward a true conception of universal Christian brotherhood the selfish strifes between men, classes and nations will gradually decrease, and then only will come the promised reign of the Prince of Peace.

Faithfully yours,
Samuel Cook Edsall,
Bishop of Minnesota.

Comment

True, indeed! The reign of the Prince of Peace cannot come in its fulness until nations unite in an international brotherhood. Individual salvation is not the message of the Gospel. Socialism is necessary to bring the Gospel promises to pass.

SENATOR KENYON WARNS CHURCH TO TAKE UP SOCIALISM

That the church must either take up social problems or be pushed aside by Socialism, was the substance of the warning delivered by William S. Kenyon, United States senator from Iowa in his speech at the laying of the cornerstone of a Methodist church in Fort Dodge, Iowa.

Socialism Or Church?

"The challenge of the world today to the church is this: Socialism or a church devoted to the collective well being of the human race. Can the church meet this challenge? It has a responsibility upon it today that the church has never had in all the world's history. It must satisfy the highest moral, industrial and economic ideals of the age.

Kingdom of God in the World

"These are the conditions in nations calling for help; to these points the duty of the church. The kingdom of God in the world will solve these conditions because the kingdom of God in the world will mean complete justice; it will mean a warfare against greed.

All Laid To Greed

"Why the loss of life a few years ago on the Slocum by rotten life preservers? Greed, divinity of profit. Why the wrecking of the Frisco and New Haven roads? Greed; but successful greed seems to be able to keep from the prison doors. For the shameless looting of these railroad systems no one has gone to jail.

"But the man who steals a bucket of coal to keep his family from freezing marches behind the bars. Where is the responsibility for this injustice? Was Victor Hugo not right when he said: 'Society stands in the dock with every criminal who is there because society has helped place him there.'"

"Moses and Marx" at Bar Harbor

Rev. F. A. Leitch of Bar Harbor, Maine, writes: "I made an abstract of the address in the Christian Socialist by Edward E. Carr, on "Moses and Marx," and had it read before a body of ministers at Oraro. I had it fortified with some prophetic texts calling attention to existing social conditions as they were in local centers. The paper was very well received; most of the men said that they had given but little thought to the subject, and felt that I had opened a new line for investigation."

Ward in Wichita

Rev. William A. Ward has established a People's Institute in Wichita, Kansas, under the auspices of the Socialist Party there. The first meeting was held in the Empress Theater, Sunday, Nov. 15, and was a great success. It is hoped to make the Institute a permanent thing.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST
Published Monthly by
THE CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING CO.
Address: 5457 Drexel Ave., Chicago
Phone: Midway 4028

SUBSCRIPTION RATES	
[illegible]—single subscription	$ .25
In Chicago, Canada and all foreign countries	.40
Five months subs in clubs of ten or more	.10
In Chicago, Canada and all foreign countries	.15

Bundle Rates	
Single Copy, any address	.05
Orders for less than 10 copies, each	.03
Orders for 10 or more copies, each	.01
Bundle of 500 copies	4.50
Bundle of 1,000 copies	8.00

EDITORIAL STAFF
Rev. Edward Ellis Carr, Senior Editor
Rev. Irwin St. John Tucker, Managing Editor

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTORS
Rev. Walter Rauschenbusch Jessie Wallace Hughan
Rev. Eliot White
Rev. Bernard I. Bell Rev. William M. Gamble
Rev. William A. Prosser
Harvey P. Moyer Rev. J. L. Smiley
Rev. Thomas C. Hall

NO BILLS FOLLOW THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST. If you get it REGULARLY, someone has paid for it. When your subscription expires we will notify you and STOP THE PAPER if you do not renew. If you receive a sample copy it is an invitation to subscribe at once.

Please do not send stamps for subscriptions or bundle orders above 50 cents. Do not send personal checks for less than $10.00, as we have to pay exchanges on all checks, unless you add 10c for exchange. We cannot be responsible for any money sent in letters. Use bank drafts, postoffice money orders or express orders.

* * *

TO MEMBERS-AT-LARGE OF THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP

The General Office of the Christian Socialist Fellowship is making a new card-file of all Members-at-Large. As the records are incomplete, all Members-at-Large are kindly requested to send, as soon as possible to the General Office, their membership cards and dues for the new year and also back dues. Cards will be returned promptly, properly credited with dues stamp. This will greatly assist in making the records complete. Address Edward Ellis Carr, General Secretary, 5457 Drexel Avenue, Chicago.

Cleveland, Ohio; Richmond, Va.; Memphis, Tenn., and Chicago Fellowship Centers sent for Dues Stamps since last report.

TAKE THEM OVER NOW

President Ripley of the Santa Fe R. R. has broken out again almost at the same old crater, and his eruption is not only illuminating but dynamic enough to waken all who have not been foully drugged or slugged into complete insensibility. Some time ago he declared that the railroads must be "let alone" and allowed to combine and manage their affairs "without government interference," or they must be owned and run by the government entirely; because the railroad business of the nation, both passenger and freight, requires unification as to tracks, schedules, connections, rates, etc. (as every traveler and shipper well knows), and that the only way to accomplish this is to have the railroads managed as one great system either by the railroad trust in private hands or by the U. S. government itself. All this is true; therefore let us quit fooling away time and money on "government control" and adopt general national ownership.

But now President Ripley has seen a very beautiful, very handy, and safe way for the Railroads out of this dilemma. He proposes for the U. S. to group the railroads into districts, have these district pools controlled by a board elected by the railroads—all but one, who shall be appointed by the government. (What! Have the railroads hopelessly lost their majority on the Interstate Commerce Commission?)

The government, however, is to have absolute veto upon any measure regarded as unsafe or injurious to the people.

This sounds good at first, but alas, the gentlemen of ebony hue peeps audaciously out of the woodpile with the cool proposition that in addition to Uncle Sam bearing the trouble and expense of compelling the railroads not to wreck themselves, or rob the people to enrich their owners, the said big-hearted Uncle Samuel should also "guarantee to the railroad investors that their earnings for the next five years shall not be less than for the past five years, and that for any new investments by the railroad people at least 6 per cent shall be guaranteed." Paternalism, indeed.

Heigh ho! Fellow citizens, let us wake up and demand that the U. S. government take the railroads over now and begin the improvements necessary to make them effective and to furnish employment for the millions of honest men who need wages, but can not obtain them under capitalistic management. We have permitted the railroads to rule and rob us long enough.—E. E. C.

SAMPLES OF FREEDOM

A comrade writes from a certain city where he is employed in a large factory: "Now that times are hard they (the capitalists) have the people in their hands and frightened. At the place where I work the Socialists were called into the office and told that they must cut out Socialism or lose their jobs. The plant is only working a few days each week now. This is my third warning, twice by my foreman, and now by the superintendent."

Thus does the vaunted freedom of the American Kings, the royal working men, once more prove itself. The American employers seize the present "hard times" to intimidate or starve those who demand a better social state, just as the Emperors of Europe place the hated social agitators en masse in the front of the battle to die needlessly before the machine guns.

Oh no, Henry Dubb, "there are no classes in America. The interests of the employer and laborer are one. The only trouble is the agitators who interfere with business. Keep on voting for your masters, like docile mules; they will take care of you." Just as the kings and capitalists of Europe and America are now taking care of you, by leading you as lambs to the slaughter and leaving your children to starve. Wear their collar and vote for them, or lose your job and starve or be shot to pieces as a rebel; and if you do wear their collar and vote for them you will be shot for their protection anyway; therefore it would appear that rebellion, political and industrial, and if need be, military, is the only hope for the workers. But let us try political and industrial organization and insurrection first. Then perhaps we will never have to war with guns. —E. E. C.

AN EXCELLENT IDEA

Mayor Harrison of Chicago is asking the City Council to appropriate $5,000 each year for the purchase of pictures by local artists to encourage local talent. These pictures are to be hung in public buildings, including schools. It is doubtful if a worthier idea ever occurred to Mayor Harrison. Every city should adopt this suggestion.

INVENTION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

"BID LOW—AND PUT NOVO ON THE PAYROLL!"

This is the headline of a full page advertisement in the Saturday Evening Post. It extols the merits of a new motor which can be operated with gasoline, kerosene, alcohol or distillate, and which runs seventy-five varieties of "outfits"—machines mainly used in construction work.

The subhead runs: "How a contractor made money on a closely figured job by knowing the difference between Labor and Power."

Read this carefully, comrades and friends; show it to the next workingman you meet. And read on;

"Power is a pace-maker for labor."

"Power never shirks—it doesn't have to be driven—it drives."

"A job is profitable in proportion as power displaces labor."

"This contractor did his trench pumping with a portable suction pump outfit THAT DID MORE WORK THAN SIX MEN, AND COST LESS THAN ONE.

"Instead of wheelbarrowing his concrete up inclines, he rigged up a power hoist, THAT CUT DOWN THE LABOR COST BY EIGHT MEN.

"He had to bring his water from a distance, so instead of carting it he installed a power pump WHICH DID THE WORK OF FOUR HORSES AND TWO MEN.

"He did his trench filling by hitching a power hoist to a scraper, with one man to guide the latter. THIS DISPLACED A WHOLE CREW.

"His selection of these engines was the result of experience. At first he used steam. But steam meant a licensed engineer and fireman. It wasn't sufficiently portable and elastic. He had to keep several types of boilers to conform with different state and city ordinances.

"When the job was done and he had BANKED HIS PROFITS, he wrote in the little red book; 'Bid low, and put Novo on the payroll.'"

According to this advertisement, the use by one contractor, on one job, of this new type of power engine, put at least twenty men out of work. Most of them were unskilled laborers. Two of the men dispensed with were a licensed engineer and a fireman.

Multiply the contractor by a thousand, and you multiply the men made jobless by twenty thousand.

Multiply the jobs on which this power engine is used by a thousand, and you multiply the men thrown out of work by another twenty thousand. What is to become of these twenty thousand men?

What do the contractors care? They have BANKED THEIR PROFITS.

What do the makers of the engine care? They have BANKED THEIR PROFITS.

What do the employers of the contractors—the bank or railroad or corporation which is doing the building—what do they care? By getting this low bid they have greatly increased their savings—and they have BANKED THEIR PROFITS.

In a recent number of the International Socialist Review, Barbara Lidy Frankenthal tells of the incoming of the Diesel Motor; a contrivance which transforms crude oil into motor power at a cost of from a quarter of a cent to half a cent per horsepower per hour. The cost of a Diesel motor is about ten cents a day; and it does the work of five men at least.

Water-power is being increasingly used in this country in the development of electricity. St. Louis runs its street cars by electricity derived from the Keokuk Dam, 250 miles away. Buffalo gets its power from Niagara Falls, 40 miles away.

Each of these discoveries or inventions means the displacement of workers, both skilled and unskilled workers, by the hundred thousand. Not only manual laborers, but coal miners, railroad men, mechanical workers—men in every rank and level of labor—are involved.

The displacement of labor by power goes on at an increasing rate.

Production is multiplied a hundredfold; but the consumptive power of the worker is decreased by the same rate. Then come wars for control of new territories to be exploited; then come panics, wholesale starvation, misery and death.

WORKERS! The danger stares at you from every magazine's advertising section; from the billboards; from every new invention.

There is but one way to avert the danger of unemployment; that is by seizing control of the governmental machinery, so as to control both production and distribution. Labor-saving inventions should be used to lighten labor's tasks, not to enslave the worker.

Unemployment to a horrible extent looms ahead of us this winter. Every fresh labor-saving invention intensifies it. The time of the increasing misery of the proletariat is upon us.

Now is the time to act—before the sodden torpor of unemployment has robbed you of power to act.

Work now—and prevent disaster!—I. T.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN SONGS

Sixteen stirring, melodious, revolutionary, Socialist Campaign Songs with music, only 5c per copy, 50c per dozen and $3.00 per hundred. The great and the best. Fill your locals and your homes with them. Use them at your public meetings. Order of the Christian Socialist.

SONGS OF SOCIALISM

128 Pages With Music

By HARVEY P. MOYER

"Every Song a Thrilling Socialist Lecture"

7th Revised Edition

SONGS
OF
SOCIALISM

Harvey P. Moyer

WHAT THE WORKERS SAY!

Debs: "We need the stirring and inspiring influence of music in the propaganda of Socialism, and your efforts in this direction are most commendable."

Jack London: "The one thing our movement lacked—Songs; and now we've got them, the real thing."

Appeal to Reason: "Full of inspiration from cover to cover. They should be in every Socialist home and local. These songs are not for a day, but for all time."

Chicago Daily Socialist: "By all odds the best thing that has yet appeared in the form of Socialist Songs. They are unequalled for creating enthusiasm."

WHAT THE WORKERS SAY!

Rev. E. E. Carr: "Beautiful and inspiring. I have used Moyer's songs of Socialism in many meetings, and find them very effective."

Edwin A. Brenholtz: "I rejoice in your book of songs—the words and music round out our effort to reach and stir the masses."

Rev. Geo. E. Littlefield: "Here, at last is a real Socialist song book that will give satisfaction and inspiration to Socialists and locals."

Lucien V. Rule: "A hearty and artistic collection. You have put the real soul of music into these pages.—'The Kingdom' is superb."

Christian Socialist: "These Songs will make Socialists where nothing else will."

GREATEST SONGS IN THE BOOK

"Marxian Call," "Universal Good," "Ninety and Nine," "Victory in Our Day," "Socialism Will Win," "The Marseillaise," "Put on Sand," "Toilers Arise," "The Torch of Liberty," "Song of the New Rebellion," "Brotherhood," "Hell's Bargains," "Have You Heard About Milwaukee," "Hark, the Battle Cry," "Our Comrades Call," "The Day of the Lord," "Battle Hymn," "Love's Paradise," "When the Kingdom Comes," "Awake Oh Church," "March to the Morning," "Beautiful Dawn," "Great Awakening," and "Socialist Marching Song" are probably the most "taking" songs, but THERE ARE SCORES OF OTHERS that are excellent.

There are red, revolutionary songs, songs of brotherhood, comic songs, children's songs, solos, duets, quartettes, male quartettes and songs of all sorts, a library of Socialist Song.

EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD SHOULD SING THESE SONGS. Invite your friends to your home and sing them there. Sing them at your branch meetings. AND SING THEM AT THE PUBLIC MEETINGS.

Price List

Strong Paper Binding.

Single copy	$ .20
Six copies	1.00
Twelve copies	1.75

Beautiful Crimson Cloth.

Single copy	$ .30
Four copies	1.00
Twelve copies	2.50

Special Rates by the Hundred

HOW TO USE THE SONGS

Mrs. Laura Pfaff, Pfaffton, N. C.—"We are using Moyer's 'Songs of Socialism' in our Local, and they prove to be more and more helpful. Our Socialist choir claims an important part in the program of every meeting. Many non-Socialists come to our meetings, as they say, 'just to hear the singing.' There is no better nor more effective way to teach Socialism to the masses than through Moyer's beautiful songs. We could not do without them."

Mrs. M. Prevey, Akron, O:—"Our Local aims to have our membership prepare to sing Moyer's Socialist songs at all our propaganda meetings. They inspire the audience and create a harmonious feeling which assists the speaker in making our propaganda clearer."

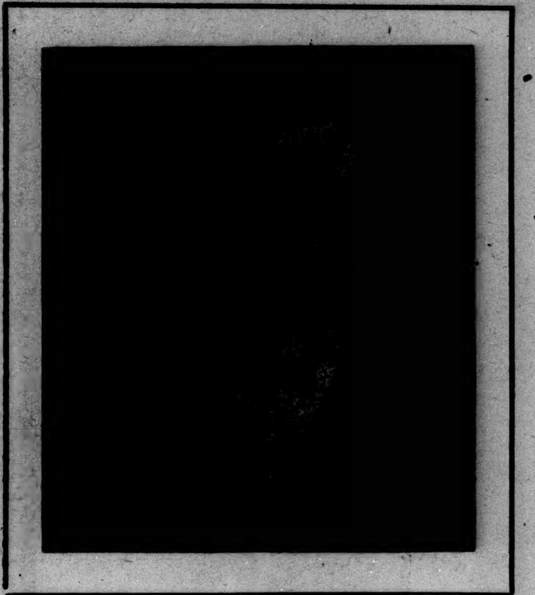
Says a Nebraska Comrade:—"I hear very favorable comments upon Moyer's 'Songs of Socialism' by teachers for our Children's Socialist Clubs, who say that these songs are peculiarly well adapted to their work in the entertainments given under the direction of the Women's Socialist Union."

A California Comrade:—"Moyer's Socialist Songs are immense for propaganda work. I made a hit at a big meeting here a few days ago. I sang 'The Patch on the Workingman's Pants,' and 'An Easy Pair' for an encore. They brought down the house."

The Co-Operative Printing Company

CHICAGO 5457 DREXEL AVE. ILLINOIS

THE NATION'S PULSE



MEYER LONDON

The New Socialist Congressman

Socialism gained greatly in the fall elections. We have once more a Socialist in Congress—Meyer London, from the Twelfth New York district. Gaylord of Milwaukee was very nearly elected, failing by about 300 votes. Twenty-six legislators in various states were chosen. The most significant victories of this kind were in Oklahoma, where a tremendous vote was polled, six Socialists being sent to the legislature, and in California, where a woman, Estelle Lawton Lindsey, was chosen as assemblyman from the 61st district. Four were elected to the California legislature, all being from Los Angeles.

In Texas the Socialist vote increased double, reaching the 50,000 mark. The tabulated results are as follows:

Legislators Elected

United States Congressman—1: Meyer London of New York City.

State Senators—4: Oklahoma, 1; Wisconsin, 1; Minnesota, 1; Montana, 1.

State Representatives—26: Wisconsin, 8; California, 4; Illinois, 2; Minnesota, 1; Pennsylvania, 1; Massachusetts, 1; Kansas, 1; Oklahoma, 5; Utah, 1; Montana, 2.

The Voice in Congress

In Meyer London, a fellow-countryman of the Prophets and Apostles will sit in the halls of Congress to plead the same cause for which Isaiah and St. James strove—the protection of the poor. He comes from the world's most thickly inhabited district, the Twelfth New York, including that lower East Side which contains more people to the square foot of ground than the world ever saw herded together before in all its crowded days.

He represents far more people than voted for him, or for his opponent combined with him. For in Meyer London's district the new immigrants are herded and packed together like sardines in the proverbial can. It was in that district that St. Mark's Church is located, where I formerly preached. I asked a policeman one day standing on the corner of the square behind the Tombs "How many people live in these houses?" "Why, around here, about twenty to a room," he replied.

Twenty to a room? Why, surely. There are inside rooms there, second and third removed from the window opening on the fresh air, which are nightly packed dense with sleeping people; often both sexes and all ages together. That sorry jest which went the rounds of the papers some time ago is no idle remark; the jest wherein there were said to be five families living in one room; one in each corner and one in the middle; and they had a fierce row because the family in the middle of the room wanted to take in boarders. These are rooms without bathtubs, without sanitary arrangements, without running water, without air, without light; but they are crowded like cattlepens with human beings. These are the people Meyer London represents—the people made cattle to swell a landlord's profits.

The vast majority of them cannot vote. As soon as a family has lifted itself in the social sphere, it usually moves away. That is why, although London's district is overwhelmingly Socialist, it has had comparatively few Socialist voters. But organization won this time; and having once won, it can never slide back again.

I know London well. The last time we met was at the meeting to protest against the Calumet outrages. London made the closing speech. He said: "I was born in Russia. I came here to escape military despotism and find a free country. And here I find people massacred worse than in Russia. If necessary to take up arms to defend freedom—give me a gun!"

But he is not a preacher of strife. He works tirelessly, ceaselessly, year in and year out, on behalf of his people. As a lawyer he is well known in the courts of the metropolis where the poor people are haled. As an orator he is well known in the Socialist party platforms. But he is best known as a friend in need of the families in distress of the supercrowded lower East Side.

Ware Congress!

The Sixty-third Congress has been repudiated. Democratic control so overwhelming that anything the party wanted could be put over, has been shaved down to the barest margin. BUT—that Congress, repudiated by the people, will remain in power for a year more.

The second session of this Congress will begin in December. A large proportion of its members have nothing to hope for, nothing to fear; they have lost. This will be their last chance to line their own pockets. And the history of second sessions adds conviction that they will seize their chance and work it to the uttermost extreme.

President Wilson was able to hold some sort of check over them before the election. The rivers and harbors grab was defeated, for his presidential scourge kept them in line. Now his power over his party is gone. There are enough congressmen who are furious at their defeat to wreck any plan of decency. They are furious at the President because they believe that his stern refusal to dissolve Congress until his program was completed kept them in Washington, prevented them from campaigning, and lost them their seats. They are furious at their constituencies for voting them out.

WATCH THIS CONGRESS. Unless we miss a guess it will see corruption to an extent unprecedented even for Democrats.

Thirteen months after they have been elected the new congressmen will take their seats. By that time the issues on which most have been chosen will have changed their shape and insistence. Popular opinion will have focused on other things. The congressional system is unutterably wrong like most other things in this wretched outgrown constitution. The timid urchin of 1789 has become the fullgrown man of 1914; but he must wear his boy's clothes.

"Sound" Doctrine

When Roosevelt was asked to comment on the election, he quoted from the lesson for the day,, I Timothy 3:2: "For the time shall come when they will not endure sound doctrine." And added, "I have nothing to say."

It was about time that Roosevelt discovered that fact; which makes it all but unanimous. Most of us have known for a very long time that Roosevelt had nothing to say; that his "sound" doctrine, indeed, was nothing but "sound" without meaning. The Progressive movement is not dead; but the Roosevelt movement is. And it was given its deathblow when Roosevelt on his return from South America, said, "They'll have to put me out of the party before they put Perkins." By this frank confession that to him the Progressive Party mean merely the check-book of George W. Perkins he kicked the stuffing out of the bull moose, showing it to be nothing but a clumsy decoy. The American people can be deafened for quite a while by the noise created by pounding on empty brass with a big stick. But eventually their reason returns.

Roosevelt's betrayal of the sound, sincere, and ardent revolt of the intelligent people who for a time clung to the Progressive party is one of the worst cases of political treason in history. He had adroitness enough to place himself at the head of a great popular revolt, too real for the old parties, but not yet class conscious enough to become Socialists, hoping to carry himself into office. He headed a revolt against bosses, and became the most contemptible kind of boss himself. He headed a revolt against the money power to turn it into a source of private profit. But the people saw in time.

"Wilson" No Charm.

The sharp drop in Democratic power is another symptom of dissatisfaction with a one-man campaign. The issue for the Democrats was "support Wilson"—nothing else. The people were urged simply to commit themselves unreservedly into the hands of the good, wise, gracious rhetorical four-flusher who occupies the Presidential chair, on the theory that a man who knows so much dictionary cannot fail to bring the millennium.

This was the Chinese theory some thousands of years ago. A man who knows the classics, they argued, must of necessity make a good official. Hence all government offices in China were filled out of competitive examinations in the Analects of Confucius. This is the substance of the Wilson argument.

The American people, however, are not Chinamen; and the appeal failed. Rhetoric can dazzle a grammatical enthusiast; but the etymological psychology of Woodrow Wilson fills no more stomachs than the hoarse bellowing of Theodore Roosevelt.

The Republican vote gained tremendously; so did the Socialist vote, though not as greatly. Neither of these are one man parties. The Republican party offers a return of prosperity based on capitalist principles; the Socialist party offers a permanent prosperity based on working-class principles.

Both one-man parties lost. The parties of "principles" gained in spite of the fact that the Republican ticket was loaded down with some of the rankest and most notorious of political crooks. For though the Republican principles be capitalist and corrupt, at least they are clear. They are false, but one can understand them. The Democracy has no principles; neither had Roosevelt.

We are through with one-man parties and one-man campaigns. The good-man theory, at least in this election, was emphatically discarded. This is a gain. When the voting public begins analyzing the situation, instead of hurrahing for a candidate, Socialism leaps ahead.

—Irwin Tucker.

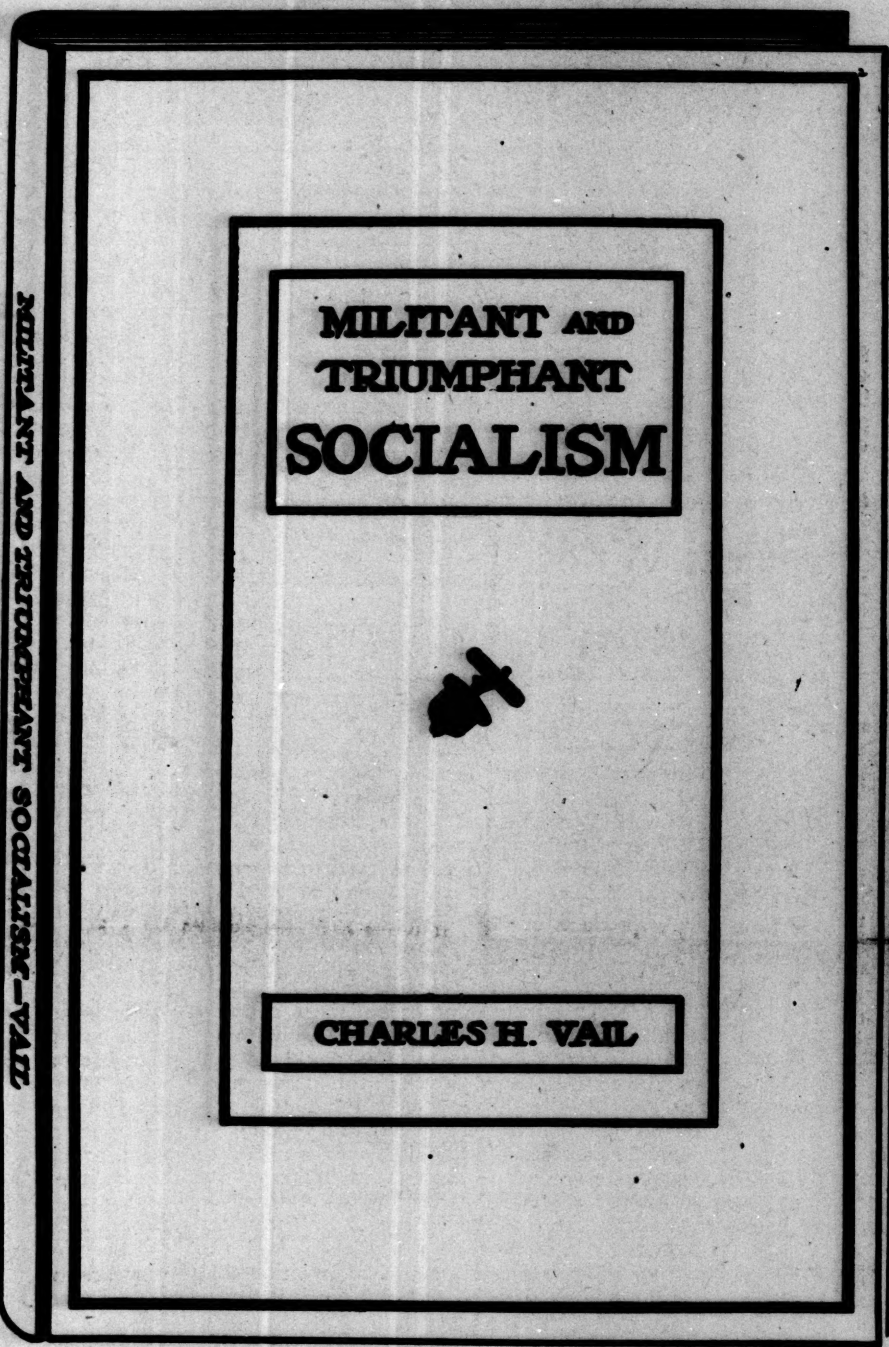
MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT SOCIALISM

By REV. CHAS. H. VAIL

THE most comprehensive Socialist Propaganda book yet produced. It says nothing that should not be said; leaves nothing unsaid that should have been said. It is complete and perfectly rounded in the scope of its argument and rings true to the great fundamental principles of Scientific Socialism

50c Postpaid

For twenty years has the Socialist movement waited for the book to be written that should fairly, concretely, warmly, scientifically, and in a revolutionary manner cover the whole range of the Socialist Philosophy. In these days of reforms and reformers, of quacks and nostrums, who should write the one book whose statements should be concise, whose facts should be dependable, whose logic should be sound, and who would dare to emphasize that there was a heart and soul in Socialism? This has all been done in "Militant and Triumphant Socialism."


MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT SOCIALISM—VAIL
MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT SOCIALISM
CHARLES H. VAIL

THE BOOK is sound in Philosophy, kindly in spirit, forceful in logic, dependable in statement of fact and clear in deduction. Its joining of the social struggle with the victory is inspiring. The One Book that will correctly inform the beginner and inspire the old time campaigner

50c Postpaid

How much the Socialist movement has needed "Militant and Triumphant Socialism" that its forces might be unified, inspired, co-ordinated and cease quarreling over non-essentials. Here is the book that has gone into the melting pot, burned out the dross and there remains the pure gold, unalloyed.

It required twenty years for the author to write this book. He had to write other books first, and good ones, too, but in this one he "arrived."

The Co-Operative Printing Co., 5457 Drexel Avenue
CHICAGO, ILL.

POWERFUL AMMUNITION FREE

Extraordinary Chance for the "Live Ones" to Obtain Socialist Literature Free and Make a Glorious Campaign

In order to help every loyal battler for Socialism to do the most effective campaigning this winter, and in order to get the social dynamite and hot shot which we have on hand hurled against the strongholds of capitalism, we will send **FREE** to the people whose names and addresses you give us, copies of the Christian Socialist, such as the "Inaugural Number" containing Rev. Irwin Tucker's article on "The Religion of a Socialist," "Competition or Christianity" by Dr. Thomas C. Hall, "Lincoln and the New Slavery" by Prof. Arthur W. Calhoun, "Billy Sunday—A Symptom of Decay" by Rev. Wm. A. Prosser, and other excellent things; or the "Intercollegiate Number" containing Rev. Irwin Tucker's splendid article on "St. Paul, the Revolutionist," "The Rising Tide of Red" by Caro Loyd, "Present Day Forces" by Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph. D., and many excellent editorials and short items of interest. When these two numbers are exhausted, we will furnish other strong and convincing numbers which will win many to Socialism. The **FREE** copies may be had by any one on the following conditions:

How To Obtain Free Copies.

With every yearly subscription at 25c (until further notice) you may send us a list of 25 names and correct addresses of people picked by you as hopeful to which we will send free samples of the Christian Socialist as above. (Write names on separate sheet of paper.)

With every order for a bundle of 10 or more of our many special editions at one cent per copy, you may send us an equal number of names and addresses of hopeful people to whom we will send the free samples. (Write names on separate sheet of paper.)

The special editions which we have for sale at one cent per copy in bundles of ten or more; $4.50 for 500 copies and $8.00 for 1,000 copies, are: (1) The Hill Special; (2) The Episcopal Special; (3) The Business Special; (4) "Jesus and the Class Struggle," including "The Parable of the Talents"; (5) The Woman's Number, including "Breaking Up the Home;" (6) The Wilson Special or "Christianity in Overalls"; (7) the recent "Moses and Marx" Special, and (8) the War Number.

THIS IS THE BIGGEST FREE OFFER WE EVER MADE, OR CAN MAKE, and it will expire when the supply of papers on hand is used up. Seize the Opportunity now and strike a great blow for Socialism in this campaign.

SPECIAL OFFER

One-year subscription to The Christian Socialist and one copy of Militant and Triumphant Socialism, Prepaid	$ .70
Two Copies of the Book and One Year of the Paper	$1.00

MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT SOCIALISM

One Copy	$ .50
Lots of 5	2.00
" " *10*	3.50

The Live Ones

By Mrs. Ella Carr

Dear Comrades:—

There never was a greater opporttunity than NOW to make telling strokes for our cause. Suffering and outraged Humanity in Europe is looking to America to come with her tremendous sentiment against war to save the countries that are so rapidly being depopulated.

We Socialists have a great responsibility in creating sentiment that will help this nation to stand as a unit for peace and seek to end speedily this terrible, worse than useless, loss of life.

The warring nations are drunk with the blood of their own people and insane over militarism. Some mighty force from without must bring them to their senses. Will America do it? Now is the psychological hour. What are you doing, Comrade? What will you pledge God you will do?

FROM OUR LETTERS.

"The last number of the Christian Socialist was strong. Keep it up. I think we can work up a large circulation at the new rate. I have taken 127 new subscriptions lately. If the Comrades could be made to realize the fact that this paper disarms the enemy, overcomes prejudice, and teaches real Socialism, they could, at the new rate, give it the wide circulation it should have.

"Wm. A. Ward."

Comrade Ward had very successful meetings in Oklahoma when he secured these subs. We have been wondering why many of the Comrades have not waked up to these facts.

* * *

Dr. Gifford, of Omaha, Nebraska, sent recently a list of subs of over three hundred ministers in his state. He is donating the paper to them. How could this help but do a tremendous good to open their eyes to the truth and to stir them to do their duty for this cause?

* * *

Comrade Roy W. Sullivan, of Illinois, sent $4.00 for subs and copies. He says: "The Christian Socialist is the best propaganda publication in the field at present, in my judgment. Here's hoping it will be possible to keep up the standards set by the Wilson and Spalding numbers."

Comrade J. A. Smith, of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, is one of the Comrades who says that he hardly lets a single day pass without getting subscriptions for this paper. He has been sending many subs of late. From his letter we give this: "I find the **Christian Socialist** contains the very dynamics which keep me on the firing line for Socialism. It fires my brain and stirs my blood, as well as increases my faith."

* * *

Attorney Homer Burket, of Evansville, Ind., sent 36 subs in one week.

* * *

Comrade Charles Bonsall, of Salem, Ohio, sent $6.25 for subs and copies of the late specials.

* * *

Rev. Sherman Coolidge, of Minnesota, a full-blood Indian, after reading a sample copy, sent a big book order.

* * *

Comrade Haines, of Memphis, Tenn., writes that since we have changed the price of the paper that he has sent in 19 new subs and two renewals.

* * *

Comrade J. H. Lee, of Garden City, Kans., one of our loyal workers for years, made us happy with his order for $5.00 worth of sub cards. Comrade Lee always keeps himself supplied with them.

* * *

Comrade G. K. Peters, of Washington, sent in a long list and writes that he thinks he can send in another list soon. That is the spirit to imitate.

* * *

Comrade Charles F. Johnson, secretary of Local at Eagle Hill, Alberta, Canada, ordered a dozen cloth song books. He says, "A visiting Comrade was here last month. He had a copy in his pocket and sang several songs to us, with the result that the members here wanted to get some right away." Sing the Socialist Gospel. It will reach hearts that perhaps would not receive it any other way.

* * *

Dr. Brownson, of Ft. Worth, Texas, sent an order for 100 copies of Comrade Moyer's A, B, C's of Socialism. He says concerning this little booklet: "It is the best compendium for a beginner who wants Socialism in a nutshell I have ever seen. It is constructive and convincing. It disarms the opposition and teaches the heart and conscience as well as the intellect. I have sent hundreds of these on their saving mission during this campaign for congress." Comrade, will you not try the same plan?

* * *

Rev. H. W. Greetham, of Orlando, Florida, is a retired Episcopal minister who has long been letting his light shine for the cause. He sent $5.00 for the preachers' and teachers' fund. The writer had the pleasure of calling upon this invalid Comrade when lecturing in his city. It was a great joy.

* * *

The Spalding Special.

The Bishop Spalding Memorial number has been doing great work and stirring the souls of ministers. It would be strange if it had not. It should put greater moral courage into the hearts of all teachers of the people.

* * *

I have read and re-read every word of this edition with a certain tendency to shout "Glory! Thank God for such a man as the late Bishop Spalding." May his tribe increase!

D. B. Waugh, Oakland, Calif.

* * *

Just received the Bishop Spalding Memorial Number and have read seven pages. I am thrilled through and through. In my opinion Bishop Spalding's utterances are nearer perfection of the truth than anything I have read.

I. N. Stoall, Texas.

* * *

The most convincing number published.

H. J. Andrews, Kansas.

* * *

Send me 100 copies of Bishop Spalding number for distribution. Certainly it is a noble number. Congratulations!

(Rev.) Eliot White, New Jersey.

* * *

The Spalding Memorial Number is worth the year's sub alone. There is not a better Christian paper printed in the country than the **Christian Socialist**. I hope the day will come when it will have the biggest circulation of any Socialist paper in the country. I would rather go without a meal or two than to go without the C. S.

Wm. S. McLean, Washington.

* * *

Although I think all your issues are splendid, still I think this issue is the very best I have seen, and as you know, I have been a subscriber for several years.

E. V. Lewis, California.

* * *

(Speaking of the Bishop): That's the kind of a Christian worth while!

(Rev.) S. W. Sample, Kansas.

* * *

As a friend, I thank you and feel that you have done a good service in getting out this special issue.

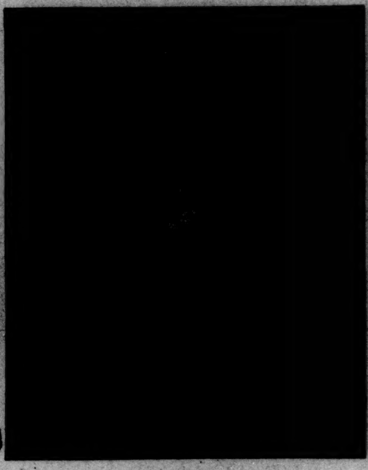
(Rev.) Jos. W. Gunn (Rector),
Nevada.

He ordered 100 copies.

* * *

Rev. Britton D. Weigle, of Pennsylvania, sends for copies and says: "I wish to subscribe for your estimable paper as a fitting peronal tribute to the memory of our late brave Prophet of the Gospel of the Brotherhood of Jesus Christ in the Fatherhood of God—Bishop Spalding."

Six Reasons Why You Want Pearson's Magazine



Allan L. Benson

"You may quote me as saying that Pearson's Magazine is 'on the square.' It permits me to say whatever I want to as I want to. I happen to know that it is the intention both of the editor and the publisher to continue this policy."

BECAUSE it prints facts which you want to know and can find in no other magazine.

BECAUSE each month it features the pen products of Allan L. Benson. It was Benson who induced the editor of Pearson's seriously to take up the study of socialism, and it is Benson who has written some of the simplest, easiest to read and most convincing of the socialist literature of the world. Every article that Benson writes is worthy of circulation by the millions of copies.

BECAUSE Pearson's has a message on every phase of social evolution by the foremost leaders of radical and progressive thought in America.

BECAUSE it has good fiction and other features making it an ideal magazine for the home and family.

BECAUSE it is a plain magazine for plain people—plain in print, plain in paper, and plain in speech.

BECAUSE, finally, it's price is right. One dollar and a half per year. On the newsstands fifteen cents per copy.

By special arrangement we are able to send you the Christian Socialist one year and Pearson's Magazine one year, both for $1.00. Order of the Christian Socialist.

The International Socialist Review

A MONTHLY ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE

"The Fighting Magazine of the Working-Class"

Will be Sent for One Year to Any Address Together With THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST for One Year for - - - $1

WRITE IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THIS OFFER EXPIRES

THE SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN BOOK FOR 1914

Will give you up-to-date information about

The Socialist Movement
The Labor Movement
Co-operation
Exploitation
Wages and Hours
Unemployment
Child Labor
Woman and Labor
Industrial Accidents
Poverty
The High Cost of Living
White Slavery
Crime
The Old Parties
The Progressives
Syndicalism
Concentration of Wealth
The Trusts
Profits
Socialists in Office

and many other things of interest to Socialists and students—too many to mention.

It has been compiled by the INFORMATION DEPARTMENT OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY and is the most complete reference book of that character that has ever been published.

Bound in flexible cloth, 350 pages.

50 CENTS A COPY.

Order of the Christian Socialist.

TWO GREAT BIOGRAPHIES

Karl Heinrich Marx

Founder of Scientific Socialism

No person is educated without a knowledge of the life and writings of Karl Marx, founder of Scientific Socialism. Prof. Albion W. Small, dean of the University of Chicago, says:

"Marx will have the same place in sociology that Galileo has in natural science; because Marx's contention that, in production, labor and not capital is fundamental, is as true, even if as revolutionary, as Galileo's discovery that the sun, and not the earth, is the center of the solar system."

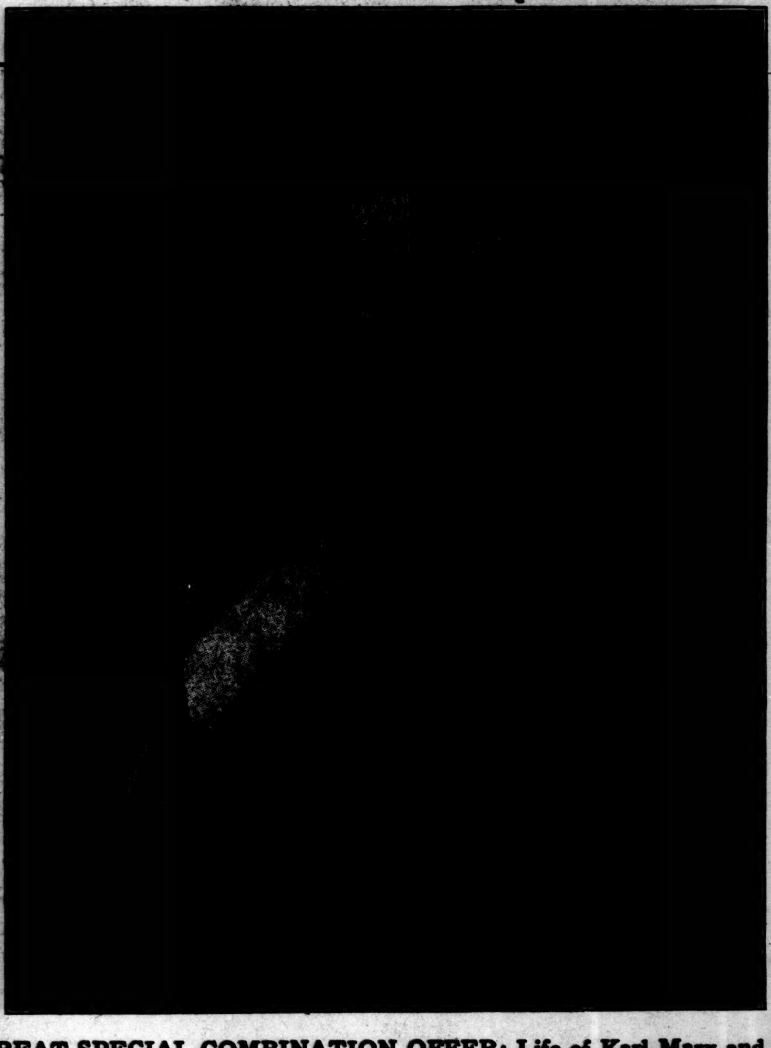
John Spargo's Life of Karl Marx

IS THE FIRST, best and greatest biography of Marx. For thirteen years Spargo, who is one of the best known of American Socialist writers, gathered his material for this work in Germany, France, Russia, Belgium, England and America, aided by the daughter and friends of Marx.

The great economist becomes a familiar and much loved figure as one becomes acquainted with his terrible struggles and sacrifices. His achievement was to bind together the scattered forces of popular revolt into one great international movement, built on the solid basis of scientific knowledge, and growing with startling rapidity.

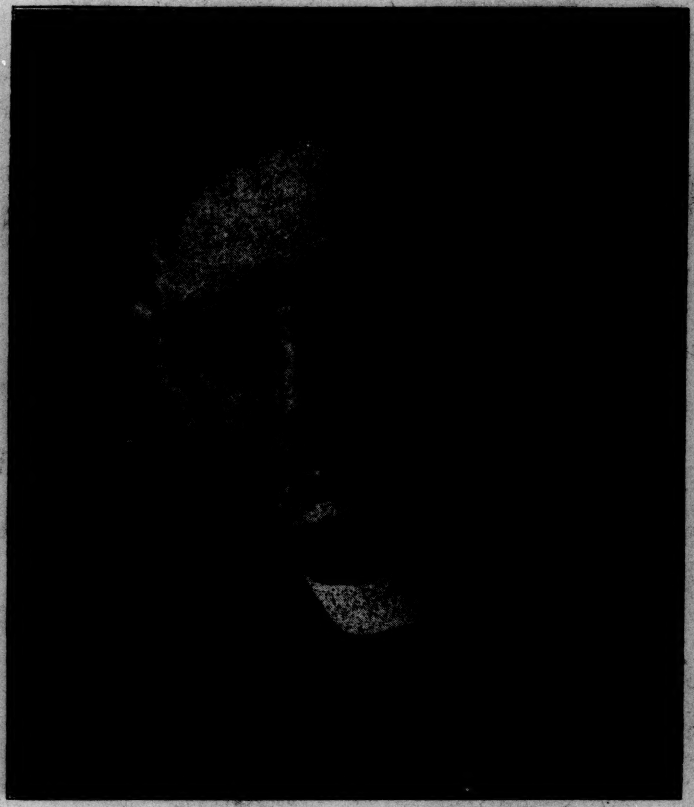
The book is indispensable to every student of Socialism; indeed, to every one who desires to be well-informed.

Price $2.50 net; postage 15 cents.
Order of The Christian Socialist, 5457 Drexel Ave., Chicago.



Franklin Spencer Spalding

First Socialist Bishop



There is one great weapon which the enemies of Socialism always brandish; it is the cry that Socialism is "opposed to religion" and "will destroy the home." Its fiercest opposition comes from the churches called Christian. Many Socialists frankly call themselves atheists; many of its opponents pretend to be Christians.

But here was a Bishop, the son of a Bishop, ruling over a district of the Episcopal Church, who was a scientific Socialist and who proclaims that only by means of Socialism can the Church save itself or the world.

"I am a Marxian Socialist; that's the only kind there is" was Franklin Spencer Spalding's constant reply to questioners. He was no weak apologetic whitewasher; he called things by their names.

The Bishop Spalding Memorial

A Special Edition of The Christian Socialist

is devoted to the life, works, writings and speeches of Bishop Spalding, who was struck down by an automobile on Oct. 25. He was clear-cut, and scientific in his Socialism; and he was an uncompromising and terribly-in-earnest Christian as well. He loved the Church; but he saw and proclaimed that only through adopting Socialism—hard, Marxian Scientific Socialism—can the Church fulfil its mission and make good its claims.

This Spalding memorial is the best means which has yet been devised of reaching non-Socialist Christians.

Single copies, 5 cents. In bundles, $1 per 100, $4.50 per 500, $8 per thousand.

If you wish to reach friends at a distance, send us a list of names with 2 cents for each name, and we will mail copies out for you.

GREAT SPECIAL COMBINATION OFFER; Life of Karl Marx and ONE NEW SUB for The Christian Socialist for One Year, $2.50.

The Christian Socialist

5457 Drexel Ave., Chicago